

THE WRITTEN REPRESENTATION OF DIALECT
WITH CASE STUDIES
FROM 20TH CENTURY GLASGOW FICTION

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work.

Anette Ingeborg Kempf

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"Writing is easy. All you have to do is to stare at a blank piece of paper until drops of blood form on your forehead." (Gene Fowler)

Thankfully, my own experience in writing this thesis was not just as torturous as Mr Fowler's. This was to no small extent due to the inspiration, encouragement and support of a number of people.

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**I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my dad,
who taught me the love of dialect.**

ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with and analyses the fictional representation of Glaswegian dialect, and brings to bear on that central issue techniques and concepts from linguistics and from the structure and history of English. It also pays attention more tangentially to ideological and cultural connotations of matters of dialect. A prominent feature of the dissertation is a characterisation - at all relevant linguistic levels - of the linguistic features of Glaswegian speech, and of the fictional representation of written Glaswegian (with accompanying close analyses of representative extracts).

The detailed contents of the thesis deal with the following topics: the relation between language varieties and their components, the different ideological evaluations of the standard variety, the discourse dimension of spoken and written language, the diachronic development of Standard English and Lowland Scots, a synchronic structural description of Glaswegian (including its representation in writing in relation to standard and Scots spelling), and a theoretical model for the analysis of written fictional Glaswegian. The source material used for exemplification and analyses is drawn from a range of 20th century Glasgow novels and from some short stories.

There is an appendix of word lists. The thesis is also accompanied by materials incorporated in a loose leaf folder inside the back cover. These materials constitute a collection (for ease of reference) of all passages analysed throughout the thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

"... no language is more sacred than the people who speak it; more to the point, no language is more sacred than the people who don't." (Leonard 1990:xxviii)

Different language varieties have been juxtaposed in literary writing at least since Chaucer. In modern Scottish literature, this kind of juxtaposition involves mainly Standard English and different varieties of Lowland Scots. The Glasgow dialect itself has been used increasingly as a literary medium. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed an unprecedented vigour and variety in the production of Glasgow literature that shows no signs of abating yet. In fact, Glasgow fiction, that is, novels and short stories set in or around Glasgow, has established itself as a recognised sub-genre of Scottish fiction. Since the 1930s, Glaswegian has been represented increasingly, and increasingly successfully, in Glasgow fiction.

While the use, the representation, and the functions of Scots have been studied in some detail¹ in particular with regard to 19th century fiction, the study of Scots as a literary variety has predominantly focused on General Scots and on traditional rural varieties.

Of course, urban varieties of Scots emerged much later than rural varieties, and indeed the use of urban Scots in literature is largely a development of the 20th century. However, the reasons for the initial lack of scholarly interest in urban Scots in general, its comparatively late appearance in literature, and the still more recent scholarly interest in the literary use and written representation of urban Scots, cannot be reduced to the fact that urban Scots itself is a relatively recent phenomenon.

¹ Cf. e.g. Letley (1988), Tulloch (1980), Donaldson (1986, 1989), McClure (1997) and others.

The reluctance to study urban Scots and its functions has to be correlated with its social, aesthetic and linguistic perception both in popular opinion and by linguists. Dismissed as hybrid, debased forms of non-standard speech, urban varieties, of which Glaswegian forms the epitome, were for a long time deemed unworthy of serious study. In fact, it was felt that a proper linguistic status could not be conferred upon urban Scots. It was considered neither English nor Scots, or at least neither proper English nor acceptable Scots - acceptable, that is, to those who did not speak it.

This situation has been rectified to a great extent in the last two or three decades. Several studies of urban Scots varieties, and in particular of Glaswegian², as well as some articles dealing with the use of Glaswegian in literature have been published. However, studies of the written representation of Glaswegian in fiction are few and far between. The publications available involve a small number of articles and some literary studies of the Glasgow novel³ which include sections on the use of Glaswegian; however, they tend to focus on the use and the functions of Glaswegian in different literary works. The linguistic discussion of the written representation of Glasgow dialect, however, is largely neglected, and patchy where it is attempted. A detailed analysis of the representation, the use, and the functions of Glaswegian in fiction is therefore a timely opportune project.

Such a project must take into account not only the status and functions of Glaswegian as a literary medium as opposed to Standard English, but also its structural linguistic characteristics and the various means (and limits) of representing these characteristics authentically in the written medium. This thesis seeks to explore the representation of

² Cf. e.g. Macaulay (1977), Macafee (1983, 1994).

³ Cf. e.g. Elliot (1977), Burgess (1998).

Glasgow dialect in 20th century fiction by placing it in a comprehensive linguistic, discursive, historical, and cultural context, and by analysing selected representative passages from Glasgow fiction published between 1902 and 1994.

I have chosen **Glasgow** fiction because it forms an identifiable and relatively contained body of literature. Furthermore, only a proportion of Glasgow fiction in the broader sense, that is, fiction set in or around Glasgow for a substantial part of the story, actually contains sustained passages of dialect representation. This body of Glasgow fiction in the narrower sense is sufficiently diverse to allow a detailed analysis of all aspects of written dialect representation. At the same time, Glasgow fiction in this narrow sense is sufficiently limited to permit the exploration of a relatively wide range of different works published over the period of a century.

Two factors have influenced my decision to explore Glasgow **fiction** rather than poetry or drama. On a pragmatic level, the source material available for Glasgow fiction in the narrow sense is much larger than that for either poetry or drama. On a more theoretical level, in fiction a multiplicity of voices is involved, i.e. there is a juxtaposition on the one hand of different social, regional and functional varieties (which, of course, also applies to poetry and drama), and on the other hand of (implied) author, narrator and characters. Neither poetry nor drama tends to have a narrative framework in which these three personae can be identified. Moreover, it is precisely this narrative framework, in which the voice of the narration is juxtaposed to that of the dialogues, that makes Scottish fiction in general and Glasgow fiction in particular so interesting.

The present study confines itself to an implicit discussion of multiple voices in the context of the communicative framework of different works of Glasgow fiction.

However, the initial scope of this thesis was broader. The intention was to include a detailed discussion of different types of narrator, of modes of speech and of the relationship between narrator and characters as it manifests itself in the use of Standard English and Glaswegian. It has proved to be outside the scope of this thesis, though, to explore the "conventional illusion of self-expression" (Toolan 1992:31) of dialect-speaking characters in the detail it deserves and indeed requires.

The choice of source material is representative rather than comprehensive. The guiding principles for selection are that the fictional works contain identifiable representations of Glaswegian, and that they represent a chronological cross-section of this Glasgow fiction in the narrow sense. The earliest work consulted dates from 1866 and the latest from 1994. Taking into account the unprecedented flourishing of Glasgow fiction from the 1970s, I have consulted eight works from the 1970s and four from the 1980s, as opposed to one each from the 1860 and the 1900s, two each from the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, and 1990s, and three works from the 1960s. Their availability in published form is also a criterion for selection.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter will explore differences between the concepts of language and dialect, and various attempts at defining these concepts; it will also define the relation between dialect and accent as it informs this study. The second chapter will describe the emergence and the diachronic development of Standard English, and it will explore the ideological evaluation of this variety and contemporary attempts at defining it linguistically. The third chapter will sketch the external history of Lowland Scots, its changing perception through the centuries, and its written uses. These first three chapters will provide the linguistic context for the

classification of Glaswegian as an urban variety of Scots, and the historical and ideological background of its changing perception.

The following five chapters will contain the core of the thesis. They will deal with fundamental issues implied in the written representation of dialect. These issues include a comprehensive linguistic description of the dialect in question, the relationship between sound and symbol, the relationship between spoken and written language, and the relationship between the aural perception and the written representation of dialect.

In detail, the fourth chapter will provide a synchronic description of the phonological structure and of the non-standard grammatical forms characteristically used in Glaswegian, and a concise selection of typical Glaswegian lexical items. It will also give a brief sketch of the emergence of Glasgow fiction, and of the availability and non-availability of different functions of Glaswegian in fiction.

The fifth chapter will deal with the history of the graphological representation of Standard English and Scots, including a discussion of contemporary attempts at standardising the latter, and with different methods of devising non-standard spellings. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the representation of characteristics of Glaswegian phonology through use of non-standard spellings in two representative extracts from Glasgow fiction.

The sixth chapter will be concerned with the discourse dimension of representing the spoken language in writing. It will deal with differences between spoken and written language, with the methods and restrictions of representing spoken language, and in particular conversation, in the written medium, and with the question of functional variation. Throughout the chapter, examples from Glasgow fiction will be used for illustration.

The seventh chapter will present a model for the aural perception of dialect and explore whether this model can also be applied to the written representation of dialect without further qualification.

The eighth chapter finally will analyse five representative passages from one Glasgow novel each from the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, and two from the 1970s. Relying on the preceding discussion of the aims, methods and restrictions of representing non-standard speech in fiction, I will analyse these passages in terms of the authenticity of their dialect representation and in terms of their speech realism. Apart from a discussion of the speech situations in which the extracts occur in the respective novels, the analyses will explore in particular the written representation of Glaswegian phonology, lexis, morphology, syntax and discourse features.

It is my contention that no language variety is intrinsically superior to any other variety. In particular the standard variety, which (not only in popular opinion) is often assumed to be superior, has no more linguistic potential than other varieties. It is true that its potential has been used to serve a whole range of functions, and in fact more functions than non-standard varieties; but the reasons for this functional elaboration are not of a linguistic nature.

It is the failure to recognise the social, political, historical and geographical factors responsible for the standardisation of one particular variety that informs popular opinion about the ostensible value or quality of this standard variety. So, too, does the failure to recognise that non-linguistic factors are responsible for the non-standardness of regionally and socially restricted varieties. And it is precisely this failure that culminates in the idea that the standard variety itself is more "sacred" than its speakers, and indeed more "sacred" than the people who do not speak it. Divorced from the dimension of

language in use, the notion of standard takes on a significance and an ideological force which its linguistic status does not justify. Thus, by implication this thesis also seeks to refute the assumption that only the standard variety is ultimately acceptable as a medium of literary writing.

1 LANGUAGE, DIALECT AND ACCENT

1.1 WHAT IS A LANGUAGE?

Before discussing language varieties¹, it is important to consider first of all what a language is². Max Weinreich's often quoted dictum that "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy" (Cassidy *et al.* 1992:291) offers a starting point for discussion. The dictum suggests on the one hand that language and dialect are not substantially different, and on the other hand that the concepts of a nation-state (defined metonymically by an army and a navy) and of a particular language associated with it are interdependent. Also implied is the understanding that the status of a language variety is determined to some degree by extra-linguistic factors. As Cassidy *et al.* (1992:291) emphasise, "the importance of political power and recognised sovereignty of a nation-state in the recognition of a variety as a language" is a crucial factor.

However, "it is not necessary for nations to be linguistically distinct" (McCrone 1992:29). There is ample evidence that a nation can have more than one officially recognised national language. This is true for instance for Switzerland (German, Italian and French), Belgium (French and Flemish), Finland (Finnish and Swedish), India (Hindi, Urdu and other Indian languages, English), Canada (English and French), Ireland (English and Irish), New Zealand (English and Maori) and others.

¹ The term variety is used throughout as a neutral term to designate a language, a dialect, or any other form of language considered as a linguistic entity.

² I am not concerned here with the question of what language as such is, as for instance a mental or social phenomenon or a means of communication, nor with the definition of a particular language.

The notion of a common language does not necessarily entail the common political unit of its speakers, let alone their cultural identity. Some languages exemplifying this discrepancy are English (e.g. in Britain, USA, Canada, Australia), Spanish (in most of the Central and South American countries), French (for example in Canada, Benin, Niger, Mali, Burundi) or Arabic (for instance in Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon). Moreover, "there is nothing in history which suggests that speakers of the same language from different geographical areas must be mutually intelligible to each other" (McArthur 1979:53-54). For instance, both Bavarians and East Frisians speak a variety of German, although Dutch, despite being classified as a language distinct from German, is much more easily understood by Frisians than Bavarian³.

Apart from such cases where a nation-state has more than one official language, there are three other possible relationships between a nation-state and a language.

- 1) The respective language varieties of some neighbouring but discrete nation-states are recognised as distinct languages although they are to a very large extent mutually intelligible to their speakers. From a linguistic point of view they could be classified as different dialects of the same language, especially since they have a common ancestor. This is true of, for example, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish or of Spanish and Portuguese.
- 2) Within the one nation-state different languages are recognised, even though they may not be granted the status of official national languages, either because of the

³ I am not arguing that there is no historical reason why Dutch and Frisian are mutually intelligible; indeed, since they represent neighbouring varieties in the Low German dialect continuum of West Germanic languages, mutual intelligibility is a matter of course. The argument is that there is no historical reason for East Frisians to be intelligible to Bavarians and *vice versa*.

small number of their speakers or due to the lack of political power exercised by these speakers. This applies for instance to the Celtic languages spoken in Britain and France, namely to Gaelic vis-à-vis English and Breton vis-à-vis French, and to Rhaeto Romanic⁴ vis-à-vis German, Italian and French in Switzerland, Kurdish vis-à-vis Turkish in Turkey and to Spanish vis-à-vis English in the USA.

- 3) The status of some varieties is hard to define because they are linguistically closely related to the official language of the country; this is the case for instance with Andalusian and Castilian in Spain or Lowland Scots and English in Scotland⁵. Sometimes a language variety cannot be related to a particular nation-state at all, as the Yiddish or Romany varieties demonstrate.

Thus, although Weinreich's dictum has a kernel of truth to it, it obscures the complex relationship between language varieties and political units. Macaulay's (1994:61) updated version of the dictum, that "a language is a dialect endorsed by a national government and promulgated through a state education system", is certainly more appropriate than Weinreich's dictum. However, it is potentially misleading in that the definition is also applicable to the notion of a standard language rather than a national language.

Kreidler (1997:36) argues that differences between dialects "are not big enough to prevent communication. Dialects of a language are mutually intelligible". However, the notion of mutual intelligibility is problematic. As Chambers & Trudgill (1980:4)

⁴ Rhaeto Romanic is only spoken in the *Kanton* (county) Graubünden, where more than half of the population speak German, about a fourth speak Rhaeto Romanic and the rest Italian.

⁵ As McClure (1981b:58-59) correctly observes, the relationship between varieties which are neither virtually identical nor mutually unintelligible is liable to be decided with arguments appealing at least as much to political or cultural attitudes as to linguistic data.

point out, mutual intelligibility admits of degrees of more or less and may in fact not be equal in both directions because it depends on a number of extra-linguistic factors such as the listener's degree of exposure to the other variety, and his willingness to understand. Chambers & Trudgill (1980:6) also emphasise that at no point in a geographical dialect continuum is there a complete break such that adjacent dialects are not mutually intelligible, even at national borders. In fact, the dividing lines between languages at national frontiers are linguistically arbitrary. It is the cumulative effect of the linguistic differences of geographically distant varieties that accounts linguistically for the difference between language and dialect. Geographically, a language can be described as a "core area" (*Kernlandschaft*) with ragged edges, where bundles of isoglosses testify to the existence of a communication barrier (Haugen 1966:925). The situation is thus not nearly as clear-cut as Kreidler (1997:36) suggests.

For two dialects to belong to the same language, mutual intelligibility is not a sufficient criterion. Petyt (1980:14) argues that this criterion must be supplemented: if speakers of different varieties regard the same form of speech as standard and/or if they share a common written language, they tend to be regarded as speakers of different dialects of the same language. Aitchison & Crystal (1992:572) argue that a variety is classified as a distinct language by its speakers if there is a strong literary, religious or other tradition, and that "linguists usually therefore regard a language as being defined by those who speak it". In this sense, McClure (1988b:31) is correct when he concedes that "to the extent that Scots speakers do not think of it as a language, it is none". The term language is a super-ordinate term for standard and non-standard, regional and social, formal and informal, and written and spoken varieties.

1.2 THE CONCEPT OF DIALECT

The ambiguity of the term dialect has induced American linguists in particular to replace it with the term variety (Wächtler 1977:39). A change of terminology, however, does not eliminate the underlying problem, which is one of definition. Besides, the term variety itself is equivocal. In older usage⁶, it designated a language unit smaller in scale than a dialect, so that a dialect encompassed a number of varieties. In modern usage, variety is a neutral term denoting "any form of language considered as a single entity" (Petyt 1980:27).

Dialect is a two-dimensional concept encompassing regional and social language varieties. Social variation involves differences of class, ethnicity, sex and age. An example of a regional variety would be any regional dialect such as Glaswegian, Yorkshire or Liverpudlian, whereas a social variety would be, for example, working class speech. However, regional and social varieties are not mutually exclusive concepts. A regional variety always relates to social variety since "one of the social factors with which a person's accent correlates most closely is his regionality" (Wells I 1982:8).

Also, both regional and social varieties are defined in terms of phonology, lexis and grammar. It is useful to distinguish **user**-related and **use**-related varieties. User-related varieties are associated with particular regions and with particular groups of speakers. Use-related varieties are defined in terms of medium (written and spoken) and in terms

⁶ Petyt (1980:27) refers in this context to A.J. Ellis and his seminal work *On Early English Pronunciation* of 1889.

of function, i.e. according to speech situation (formal and informal registers)⁷.

Page (1973:53) maintains that "in discussing regional dialects, care must be taken not to stray across common frontiers into such neighbouring territories as slang and colloquial speech, or uneducated speech". Although Page here stresses the fact that slang and colloquial speech, unlike dialects, are not regionally restricted and should therefore not be mistaken for dialectal forms⁸, Page's metaphorical use of the terms "common frontiers" and "neighbouring territories" is confusing. It obscures the relationship between dialect on the one hand and register on the other: these types of varieties cannot be adequately described as "linguistic neighbours". Also, what exactly Page means by "common frontiers" remains obscure. Dialect and colloquial speech cannot be as clearly distinguished as "neighbouring territories" can⁹.

Since dialect only represents one type of language variety, the terms dialect and variety cannot simply be identified. It is therefore important to give a definition of dialect as the term will be identified in this study.

A dialect is a language variety that is regionally and socially defined (Viereck 1986:222). Linguists sometimes distinguish the term *dialect*, which refers to the regional or geographical dimension, and the term *sociolect*, which relates to the social dimension. Romaine (1992:946) defines sociolect as "a social dialect or variety of speech used by a particular group, such as working-class or upper class speech in the United Kingdom".

⁷ These types of varieties are discussed in sections 6.1 and 6.3 below.

⁸ Page (1973:53) also points out that some colloquialisms may exist side by side with dialectal forms.

⁹ Agutter & Cowan (1981:54) even argue that a clear-cut distinction between slang and dialect cannot be made at all. However, I would maintain that while slang only refers to lexical items and phrases, dialects are characterised by phonology, lexis, and grammar.

However, since every regional language variety has a social dimension, it is probably more appropriate to use the terms *regional dialect* and *social dialect* in order to indicate that we are dealing with two sides of the same coin rather than with two different coins.

Trudgill (1983:187) maintains that we can distinguish discrete regional dialects rather than discrete social dialects. I would argue that, while a person's regional origin is certainly more easily and unequivocally identifiable than his or her social background, the question must be asked whether it is possible at all to define a discrete regional dialect. Two issues are at stake here. On the one hand, geographically discrete dialects do not exist because there is a dialect continuum between neighbouring dialects¹⁰. On the other hand, labels like "Glasgow dialect", "Yorkshire dialect", "Geordie" or "Cockney" are commonplaces. Thus, although distinct geographical boundaries of a given dialect cannot be unequivocally defined, one can usually tell a speaker of this dialect from one of another dialect. Native dialect speakers define their dialect by pointing out which forms or features of a neighbouring dialect are different from their own. On a local level, these differences tend to involve mainly pronunciation features. For instance, *hand* is pronounced [han] in Port Glasgow, but [hɒn] in Greenock. To a Buchan speaker, this kind of difference would be completely overshadowed by the striking differences between his own North East Scots dialect and the urban variety developed from the West Central Scots dialect spoken in the Glasgow conurbation.

A regional variety is only stigmatised when it is linked to social factors (Holtus & Radtke 1990:xii), even though the expression of the stigmatisation tends to focus

¹⁰ Geographically distant dialects of the same language, though, can certainly be discerned as linguistically distinct dialects.

independently and, as it were, objectively, on some linguistic detail(s). It should be added that, since every dialect has a social dimension by definition, Holtus and Radtke's observation actually refers to a matter of conscious awareness: it is only when people create the social status of dialect and come to be aware of its social implications that they tend to stigmatise its forms.

Wells (1982:3) defines dialect as "any speech variety which is more than an idiolect but less than a language", adding that in this sense a language normally consists of various dialects. Although this definition seems vague, the fact that it operates with dimensions of the individual and the collective as extremes suggests accurately that a dialect differs from both idiolect and language because it both groups and individuates the speaker. Wells (1982:4) adds that dialect is a regionally restricted, coherent alternative language variety. In this definition the use of the adjective "alternative" is most important, since it implies that a dialect is a perfectly valid language variety.

Chapman (1973:18) too offers a good definition: a dialect is the "distinctive system of a group of users of a language with a common regional and social identity". The adjective "distinctive" has to be qualified, though: since no two isoglosses coincide exactly (Cassidy 1992:535), a distinct geographical borderline between two dialects cannot be established. However, even recognising a continuum, there are points on that continuum that can be given the status of being quasi-discrete because they have an internal coherent system. Thus, although two varieties A and B can overlap largely, each has its own coherent and hence distinctive system.

The concept of dialect used in this study can be defined as follows: a dialect is a regionally restricted, distinctive, highly organised and structurally coherent language

variety with its own complex rules; it is used by a group of speakers who share a common language with others and among themselves, and who have a common regional and social identity.

Every dialect of English apart from Standard English¹¹ has its distinctive historical phonology, lexis and grammar. This is not to suggest that different dialects do not share a large number of features. But every dialect is characterised by a particular *combination* of phonological, lexical and grammatical forms – a combination exhibited by no other dialect. In this sense, every dialect can claim a regional norm (Scherer & Wollmann 1986:58). Dialects are not derived from the standard variety; therefore, while non-standard dialects are different from the standard, they are not deviant from the standard. It is the implicit equation of Standard English with the English language itself that has generated the wrong impression that dialects are deviant (and in this sense inferior) forms of Standard English.

Coseriu (1980:108) argues that the opposition between language and dialect concerns the respective historical status of these varieties. Since a language represents a linguistic system (*Sprachgefüge*), and since a dialect also forms a complete system, the difference between language and dialect cannot be one of substance. Therefore, it must be one of relation¹²: a language is a historically autonomous and omni-functional system of linguistic traditions, whereas a dialect is a variety related to but distinguished within the language.

¹¹ Standard English can be spoken with any accent and in this sense has no characteristic phonology. Cf. sections 1.3 and 2.2.3 below.

¹² As early as 1933, Bloomfield asserted the "purely relative nature of the distinction" between language and dialect.

Non-standard varieties are generally older than the standard variety, though not older than its underlying regional dialect sources: language varieties evolved long before the process of standardisation set in. Dialects continue to be used predominantly in the spoken mode, but the standard variety can eventually exert a levelling influence on non-standard varieties. This situation corresponds to what McClure (1979a:91) describes as the fourth and final stage in the development of a language: local speech forms cease to differ from the written variety except in terms of pronunciation and some details of grammar, vocabulary and idiom. That is, the distinguishing factor becomes a matter largely of accent and not of dialect.

Of course, there are also non-standard varieties which are of more recent origin than Standard English: modern urban dialects. Like rural dialects, they are not derived from (and hence not deviant from) Standard English. They owe their existence and development to the respective underlying regional dialect, to influences from other dialects and, on occasion, to foreign languages¹³, as well as to extralinguistic factors such as demographic changes and the subsequent mixing of ethnicities in a confined space, urbanisation and industrialisation, all of which indirectly contribute a plethora of new lexical items. These factors influence the already existing language variety also in terms of pronunciation, lexis and grammar.

Thus, when Holtus and Radtke (1990:xvii) argue that a dialect often shows independent, specific syntactic structures that cannot be assessed solely by their contrast with Standard English, they are not entirely correct. These structures should be evaluated

¹³ For instance, Irish and Gaelic have influenced urban west of Scotland varieties, and in southern Scotland there was contact with gypsies south of the border, with the result that a number of Romany words were transmitted and acquired in Scots (Clement 1981:20).

for what they are: dialect features which are not dependent on the standard variety and have not evolved from it, and which can thus be compared with Standard English as a matter of convenience, but not assessed with regard to correctness and acceptability from the point of view of the standard variety.

The fact that the implicit identification of Standard English with the English language as such is unsound cannot be overemphasised. This identification was expressed as early as 1836 by an anonymous author in an article on English dialects: "Within the English pale the matter is sufficiently clear; all agree in calling our standard form of speech the English language, and all provincial deviations from it ... dialects."¹⁴ Morgan (1983:197) too makes the erroneous assumption that "a dialect which was used into the highest reaches of education would in fact become a language, and would then itself begin to split into new dialects". The dialect Morgan refers to would, obviously, become the *standard* variety. Apart from this, neither the standard variety nor the common language itself splits into different varieties.

Coseriu (1980:110) puts the relationship between a common language and the dialects of which it consists as follows: the emergence (*Konstitution*) of a common language does not result in the development of dialects. Rather, the emergence of a common language governs the classification of regional dialects - namely as varieties of precisely the common language concerned. Finally, it is also worth mentioning the concept of "roofless" dialects (Cardiot 1987:756) such as Alsatian and Frisian and possibly Lowland Scots. These varieties are akin to a large national language but they do not represent dialects of this national language.

¹⁴ In *Quarterly Review* 55:355. Quoted from Bailey (1991:4).

1.3 THE ISSUE OF ACCENT

Accent is a complex issue. Not only does the term have different denotations, but it also has far-reaching connotations which have the potential to obscure objective linguistic facts in favour of mostly unreflective social preconceptions.

The term accent has three different meanings. It can denote a diacritic mark as e.g. in the spelling of the French loanword *élite*, or it can serve as a signal that a normally silent letter is to be pronounced, as for instance in *learnèd*. In metrics, the term accent refers to the prominence or stress of a syllable. In the context of language and dialect, finally, accent relates to pronunciation. In this context, accent is an integral part of every speech variety because every variety is characterised by a certain set of phonological, lexical and grammatical features, and accent relates to the first of these. The notions of dialect and accent are therefore clearly distinguished: every dialect has an accent, but dialect and accent are not to be seen as identical.

Differences between two or more accents can be described in four categories.

- 1) Phonemic differences between accents entail that these accents have different phoneme inventories. Southern English accents for instance distinguish the phonemes /a/ and /ɑ/, so that *Sam* and *psalm* form a minimal pair; Scottish accents tend not to have this distinction. With regard to consonants, Scottish accents have, at least to some extent, retained the phoneme /ɹ/¹⁵, so that *which* and *witch* form a minimal pair, whereas these two words are homophones in southern English accents.

¹⁵ /ɹ/ seems to be being lost rapidly, and to be gone for many younger urban speakers.

- 2) Phonetic or realisational differences refer to the different pronunciation or realisation of the same phoneme in two accents. For example, the phoneme /l/ is realised in southern English accents as so-called 'clear' [l] in word-initial position and as so-called 'dark' [ɫ] word-finally; Scottish accents tend to have [ɫ] in all positions, and Welsh accents tend to realise /l/ as [l] in all positions.
- 3) Lexical differences refer to the occurrence in different dialects or idiolects or speech styles of different phonemes in the same lexeme. The word *lever* for instance in southern English has /i/ as the stressed vowel phoneme, whereas General American has /ɛ/; however, both phonemes /i/ and /ɛ/ exist in both accents.
- 4) Phonotactic differences relate to the distribution or combination of phonemes structurally; an example of a phonotactic difference between English and Scottish accents is the absence and presence respectively of rhoticity: whereas in Scottish accents postvocalic rhyme-/r/ is pronounced, in English accents it is not.

The connotations which the term accent can evoke merit detailed discussion. First and foremost it has to be emphasised that every speaker has an accent simply because he pronounces words; speech without pronunciation is impossible. However, a person's accent can also convey a range of information about the speaker's social background and his geographic origin. Most native speakers of English will be able to recognise a Scottish, English or Irish accent or to distinguish e.g. a Cockney from a Yorkshire and a Glaswegian accent by virtue of certain salient features of pronunciation commonly associated with these accents, such as h-dropping in Cockney, or the absence of the /ʌ/ phoneme in Yorkshire accents, or the use of the glottal stop in Glaswegian. Of course,

the features of pronunciation cited do not on their own identify an accent.

Apart from revealing the speaker's geographic origin, a person's accent can also give clues about the speaker's social status, even though class distinctions are not as clear-cut as they perhaps used to be. It is an oversimplification, but it still seems to hold true that the more distinct the local features betrayed by a person's accent, then the lower the person's social status is assumed to be. The corollary of this is the presupposition that a regionless accent, i.e. one which does not reveal local characteristics, is important to a person's admission into the higher orders of society¹⁶.

In social terms, some accents are considered prestigious, but many more are stigmatised. Giles *et al.* (1979:590-591) offer two hypotheses as an explanation for such value judgements. The first, which the authors call the "inherent value hypothesis", entails that accents enjoying a high prestige are adopted as standard accents because they represent the most aesthetically pleasing pronunciation¹⁷. This hypothesis is tentatively rejected in favour of the so-called "imposed norm hypothesis", according to which the prestige of an accent is essentially a cultural and historical accident: the social élite arbitrarily adopts a certain accent, and this accent attains its status only through the prestige of its users. Giles *et al.* (1979:591) argue that in this way a culture "has a speech norm imposed within it". I agree with this argument, since the supra-regional prestige accent owes its high esteem to a social consensus and in this sense it is indeed self-

¹⁶ There is a belief in class-bound Britain that the speech of the privileged and their imitators is the language of the true and the real (Milton 1997:204). It is in this context that Leonard (1984:65) points out that "a person who doesn't speak right is therefore categorised as an ignoramus; it's not simply that he doesn't know how to speak right, but that this 'inability' shows that he has no claim to the truth".

¹⁷ Cf. e.g. Wyld (1934): "... R[eceived] S[tandard] is superior, from the characteristics of its vowel sounds, to any other form of English, in beauty and clarity..." Quoted from Crowley (1991:212).

imposed by society. Sociolinguistic research has provided ample evidence that stigmatisation is socially rather than linguistically motivated. Accents spoken in large urban centres such as Glasgow, Birmingham or Manchester are more heavily stigmatised because their speakers are associated with social deprivation manifesting itself in poverty and squalor, and with ethnic amalgamation – phenomena which are frequently encountered in industrial conurbations. Rural accents on the other hand tend to be considered as pure or at least tolerably distinctive because of the relative remoteness of their speakers and because of their lack of contact with outsiders. There is also a nostalgic association of rural accents with the "good old days" before industrialisation. The connotations which are evoked by different accents are clearly based on social presumptions and prejudices and not on any linguistic qualities inherent in the accents themselves¹⁸.

There is no such thing as an accent-free or accent-less manner of pronunciation. This notion is often mentioned in relation to non-native speakers who have adopted the pronunciation, intonation and stress pattern of English to such an extent that their accent cannot be distinguished as a non-native one. However, even this "naturalised" accent is, of course, anything but accent-less, since it is characterised by a certain manner of pronunciation and hence by a certain accent. The term accent-less is also associated with Received Pronunciation (RP) because an RP speaker's regional origin cannot be detected from his pronunciation. To the extent that RP is a region-less accent, i.e. because of its "regional neutrality" (Carter 1995:2), it is often considered as accent-free or neutral.

¹⁸ It is interesting to note in this context that a variant which is stigmatised in one accent can represent the prestige variant in another. This is true for example of postvocalic /r/: in General American accents rhoticity is the prestige form, whereas in England it is stigmatised.

However, in social terms it is anything but neutral. RP has extensive social connotations in that it is usually associated with the English upper and upper middle classes. Thus, depending on the speech community where RP is used, an RP speaker's "talking proper" may well be another speaker's "talking posh" (Mugglestone 1995b:51). An accent-less accent is always that of the people who speak it, and accent denotes somebody else's way of speaking: only outsiders have an accent. Thus, accent is not only a regional and social marker, but it has become a symbol of solidarity and group membership as well.

The term Received Pronunciation also merits brief discussion. RP is the only genuinely region-less, social accent of English. Quirk *et al.* (1985:22) suggest that RP is non-regional because it "has traditionally been transmitted through a private education system based upon boarding schools insulated from the locality in which they happened to be situated". It must be pointed out, though, that RP can only be claimed to be non-regional within England. Spoken by about three to five percent of the population of Britain, RP is a minority accent and in fact the prerogative of a rather special group.

RP is also considered to be one of the most salient features of Standard English. It came to be regarded as the standard pronunciation due to its social prestige, and was therefore associated with Standard English (Quirk *et al.* 1995:6). However, there is no standard accent of English, and as Strevens (1965:81) puts it very observantly, "almost the only people who think there *is* are a small number of RP speakers who feel that their accent is (or should be) in some way superior". The implicit association of RP with Standard English is misleading because it only works in one direction. It is true that RP is a regionless accent and therefore not an integral part of any particular regional dialect; in fact, it is only used with Standard English. However, Standard English is independent

in the sense that it can be spoken with any regional and non-regional accent and RP is only one possible accent to be associated with Standard English. Thus, while RP is appropriately associated with Standard English, it is a misconception to associate Standard English exclusively with RP.

RP itself is not a homogeneous accent. At least three varieties can be distinguished (Wells II 1982:279-280): mainstream RP, which is spoken by the upper middle class, U-RP or "upper-crust RP", and adoptive RP. Also, there are several near-RP and modified RP accents, which have characteristics of both RP and regional accents.

Historically, the idea of a supra-regional norm of pronunciation is older than the term Received Pronunciation and the concept of RP associated with the social élite who obtain their education at fee-paying public schools. In the 17th century, the increasingly homogeneous accent of the upper classes in London gained prestige as the fashionable accent of the metropolitan social élite, and it gradually came to serve as a model for aspiring members of the upper middle classes. As early as 1789, Noah Webster in his *Dissertations on the English Language* commented on the linguistically arbitrary choice of a standard accent: "The Authors who have attempted to give us a standard [pronunciation] make the practice of the court and stage in London the sole criterion of propriety in speaking. An attempt to establish a standard on this criterion is both unjust and idle."¹⁹ As McArthur & Knowles (1992:851) point out, there is, however, no evidence to support the association of a prestigious supra-regional norm of pronunciation with public schools before the latter half of the 19th century. Milroy & Milroy (1991:59) argue that between the end of the 19th century and the middle of the

¹⁹ Quoted from Fisher (1996:149).

20th century, RP was maintained as an élite accent partly through the ties formed by members of the public school, university, law, church and army élites. With the rise of the mass media of broadcasting from the 1920s onwards²⁰, RP was adopted as the most "neutral" (since regionless) accent of English, which in turn increased its prestige.

Ramsaran (1990:190) dismisses RP as being "somewhat fictional" because, she claims, it cannot be defined either as a social accent or on the basis of its phonological characteristics. Social classes, she continues, are not such clearly defined entities as they perhaps used to be and social mobility is greater than ever, so that RP cannot be identified as the accent of a particular, well-defined social class. In terms of its phonological inventory, Ramsaran maintains, there is no consensus about the diagnostic features of RP. I do not agree with Ramsaran's contentions. While it is true that it might be difficult to associate RP with one particular, clearly defined social class, it is clearly the prerogative of a minority of British society that is distinguished from the majority by social, economical and educational factors, such as e.g. income and professional status, all of which do amount to class distinctions, even though definite class distinctions might be difficult to draw. Furthermore, its phonological characteristics can be described²¹ and analysed in sufficient detail for RP to be definable in terms of its phonology.

Macaulay denies the factuality of RP altogether when he claims that "there is no such entity as RP except as a prescriptive model for the upwardly mobile" (1988a:42). I

²⁰ In 1926, the BBC's Advisory Committee on Spoken English was established with phoneticians like Daniel Jones and Henry Wyld as committee members.

²¹ Cf. for instance Daniel Jones's *An English Pronouncing Dictionary* ('1917) or John C. Wells's *Pronunciation Dictionary* (1990).

would argue that it is the alleged prescriptiveness of RP for the upwardly mobile which is a myth – these members of society modify their native accents in the direction of RP, even to the point of hypercorrection²², because, as Mugglestone (1995b:213) pointedly puts it, "linguistic mastery [is] an art of profound social significance". Whether or not RP should be credited with the prestigious status it currently enjoys, and thus continue to function as a model, and whether or not it should be the only accent taught to foreign learners, is an entirely different matter.

Finally, the term "Scottish Standard English" has to be discussed briefly. It is commonly used in the literature to refer to pronunciation only, i.e. it is considered an accent rather than a dialect. However, this terminology is unsound within the context of the present thesis. While the term Standard English is used with reference to a variety characterised by lexical and grammatical features, but not by an inherent phonology, the term "Scottish Standard English" cannot logically be used to refer to an accent, i.e. to phonological features only. The alternative term "Standard Scottish English" is likewise inadequate. As there is no standard accent of English, there is none of Scottish English either. More importantly, the neutral term Scottish English appears to encompass Highland English as well, even though implicitly it disregards this variety. Thus, I adopt the term *Lowland English* for the variety termed Scottish English in the literature when Highland English is not implied, and *Lowland English accent* for the non-localised pronunciation of Lowland English as opposed to that of Lowland Scots dialects, Highland English and southern English varieties.

²² Hypercorrection is "the impulse to conform to perceived standards of propriety and correctness" (Carter 1997:10) by substituting high-prestige variants for low-prestige ones where this is not required.

The origins of this Lowland English accent are to be found in the 18th century²³. Based on the accent of the Edinburgh and Glasgow upper and highly educated middle classes, this prestigious accent was promoted by the authors of a number of 18th century pronunciation dictionaries. They endorsed a northern metropolitan standard rather than an imported southern one as the spoken variety appropriate for the Lowland Scottish social and intellectual élite, i.e. for the upper classes and the legal, clerical and academic professions. This "Scottish Standard English", or the Lowland English accent, as I choose to call it, thus developed as a hybrid from a compromise between Scots and southern English. A number of Scots phonological features were replaced by the corresponding English ones, but a number of distinctly Scots phonological features were retained as well, possibly unconsciously.

²³ In the following I am drawing on Jones (1993, 1995).

2 STANDARD ENGLISH

"In accounts of sociolinguistic situations in Britain and the United States, there is probably no term that is more frequently used and less clearly defined than the expression Standard English." (Macaulay 1977:68)

2.1 THE RISE OF STANDARD ENGLISH

Standardisation has two dimensions: it involves firstly the internal regularisation of the variety in question, and secondly the spread of this variety beyond its original geographical and social domain. Thus, the extent to which a variety has become a standard can be judged in two ways: by the extent to which it has become a common property, and by the degree of its internal consistency (Benskin 1992:75). However, the gradual abandonment of local writing conventions in favour of a supra-local written variety will only result in the development of a national standard if the continuity of the chosen variety is guaranteed. There are two prerequisite conditions (one cultural, one structural) for standardisation. The variety concerned has to have a certain prestige, and it must be sufficiently homogeneous for it to be imitable on a national scale.

A regional standard written variety based on the spoken dialect of the Central Midlands emerged in the late 13th century. According to Samuels (1963:85), this first type of written standard remained unchanged until the 15th century. From c.1360, another standard began to emerge in London of a predominantly Essex type¹. Benskin

¹ This variety, which is documented in eight manuscripts of the 14th century (Samuels 1963:87), was presumably spoken in the greater London area. Of course, propositions about any spoken variety of that time are necessarily to be understood by implication, and then only partially, from what is spelled.

(1992:77) argues that due to an influx of immigrants from East Anglia, this second type of London standard was displaced by the variety used by Chaucer, Gower and Hoccleve, all of whom were civil servants or involved with Chancery (Fisher 1996:51); it was also used in certain manuscripts of *Piers Plowman* and in some state documents. Having displaced the Essex type of English, this third type was in turn superseded by a fourth type after 1430². Presumably it was the influence of incomers from the Central and East Midlands that gave rise to a fourth type of written English which entered the written record abruptly, but did not replace the Chaucerian variety overnight. This fourth type represents the beginning of a national standard. It has been termed Chancery Standard³, since it was employed by the officials in Chancery, i.e. by the clerks in the government in Westminster. This variety has as its basis an east Midland form of speech, which was brought to Westminster and London when the administrative centre of England moved there in the 14th century (Macaulay 1994:69). It is characterised by "the common core variants of diverse immigrant speech" (Benskin 1992:78).

The successive types of English discussed and identified here were not derived from their respective predecessors. Rather, the emergence of a new type was due to "rapid changes in the regional balance of London's immigrant population" (Benskin 1992:77) in consecutive periods of time.

Kristensson (1994:106) too argues that the native East Saxon speaking population of

² Before 1430 English was not used to any large extent as the language of official documents (Sandved 1981:34). Also, whether or not the proportion in state documents of English on the one hand and Latin and Anglo-Norman on the other was suddenly reversed is still debated. See the different arguments, respectively pro and contra, of both Samuels (1963:87) and Kristensson (1994:108), and of Benskin (1992:79).

³ The term was initially coined by Samuels (1963).

London experienced a large influx of immigrants. Following Ekwall (1956:xliv) he claims that until at least 1360 they came especially from Norfolk. Many of the Norfolk incomers, he continues, occupied prominent positions in London society and thus "came to form an upper stratum of the population, a merchant class with influence on administration" (1994:106). Kristensson argues that the variety of English spoken by the wealthy merchant class became a prestigious social dialect and formed the model for usage of English in government and administration. Fisher (1996:51) too points out that the spoken usage of the northern clerks who mingled with the local population exerted some influence on the emerging Chancery Standard.

However, the origins of written Standard English lie in business, bureaucratic and legal writing relating to the king (Fisher 1996:60). It is inaccurate, Fisher (1996:37) argues, to identify the language of official proclamations, charters and parliamentary records with any regional or class dialect: the variety of English which emerged in the 15th century as an administrative language was independent of any spoken variety. Blake (1996:172) even claims that the "writing systems of the 14th century were constructs which reflected nobody's spoken language", and that the same applies to Chancery Standard⁴.

What can be maintained is that modern written Standard English emerged from conventions established (although not exclusively) by the clerks in Chancery, and that it was spread very gradually and at varying rates in different places throughout the country first by professional scribes, then by the printing press, and last by private individuals. It is worth noting that Chancery evolved outside the orbit of either the church or the

⁴ Standard English has features shared with very few, if any, regional varieties of English, whereas these regional varieties tend to share their distinctive non-standard features (Trudgill 1990:79-81).

schools; these institutions continued to use Latin for written purposes until well into the 16th century (Fisher 1996:57).

Chancery Standard had not developed into an internally consistent variety when the printing press was brought to England and established in Westminster in 1476. Indeed, in the late 15th and early 16th centuries there are still at least five kinds of texts printed in English. Some printers used a localised dialect, some Chancery Standard, some printed their texts with a regional bias, and some used the kind of "colourless" or "diluted" regional writing that had been adopted for manuscripts in the provinces⁵. A fifth kind of printed text exhibits a mixture of local and/or regional spellings (Samuels 1981:44,48). This situation is due to the fact that, while printers often preserved some of the authors' manuscript spellings, they frequently replaced others with their own dialect forms⁶. William Caxton himself offers a good example of this practice of dialectal eclecticism. While maintaining a number of his native Kentish forms, i.e. features of a localised dialect, he gradually discarded words characterised by Kenticisms in favour of variants with a more "colourless" regional bias. Eventually, his printed translations from French as well as original English texts show a tendency towards Chancery Standard (Samuels 1981:45f).

With regard to the two dimensions of the modern concept of standardisation – the

⁵ In provincial education, students would adopt the spellings of their mentor or even that of their peers (Samuels 1981:47). In this way, kinds of regional standard developed in many areas and a "colourless" regional usage had begun to displace local conventions of writing initially observed by scribes when English came to be commonly used in administration in Westminster (Benskin 1992:84). However, this kind of "diluted" regional standard did not represent a standard in terms of its internal consistency or in terms of invariant spellings and codified grammatical (and lexical) features, but only in terms of the spread of one variety over a whole region.

⁶ Even before the printing press came into use, scribes who copied literary texts commonly translated between dialects (Benskin 1992:76).

spread of a certain variety and its internal consistency – the rise of Standard English can be outlined as follows. The literary variety based on the Central Midland counties (type I) was only ever of some importance regionally, and not nationally. There is no evidence that either the dialect of the greater London area (type II) or the written language used by Chaucer (type III) were imitated as a model for writing outside London (Sandved 1981:39). Chancery Standard (type IV), although initially a variety with a relatively large degree of internal variation or options, eventually spread nation-wide, while its range of variants diminished over time. Chancery Standard forms the basis of modern written Standard English.

As the standard variety was being developed for written purposes, non-standard varieties of English, which had hitherto been used for writing, gradually ceased to be used for written purposes with the result that their range of functions became restricted.

2.2 APPROACHES TO STANDARD ENGLISH

2.2.1 CHESHIRE & MILROY

Cheshire & Milroy (1993:3-33) argue that standardisation aims at uniformity by suppressing variability. However, the standardisation of a language variety is a permanent process which "is never successful at all levels" (1993:3), i.e. with regard to spelling, grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. Cheshire & Milroy outline seven stages of this process.

- 1) A particular language variety is selected for promotion.
- 2) It is accepted by influential users.
- 3) It is diffused socially and geographically.
- 4) The standard variety must be maintained.
- 5) Its functions are elaborated.
- 6) It is codified.
- 7) It is prescribed officially.

Cheshire & Milroy point out that the first two stages depend on socio-political rather than linguistic factors, and that the selection of one particular variety, which is due to its acceptability (stage 2) among the influential sectors of society, has as its corollary the devaluation of other varieties. The diffusion of the standard variety (stage 3) is carried out through the written medium and the educational system. The standard variety then has to be maintained in its relatively invariant form (stage 4). This process is promoted through the same channels as its diffusion, especially through literacy and education. At the next stage, the functions of the standard variety will have to be elaborated in order for this variety to serve for all kinds of situations and texts (stage 5). Lexical expansion especially through borrowing from other languages for administrative, educational, legal, philosophical and other purposes is the main means of functional elaboration. In Britain, this process of elaboration is mainly associated with the Renaissance. It involved massive borrowing from Latin and French, and to a small degree from Classical Greek. The codification of the standard variety (stage 6) was largely achieved in the course of the 18th century mainly through the influential work of individuals like Dr Johnson and a number of grammarians. It has to be pointed out, though, that codification was carried

out on the written language, not on the spoken. Once the codification had been accomplished, the standard variety became available for official prescription (stage 7), which meant that it could be taught as "correct" English; as a consequence, the authors and promoters of dictionaries and grammar books became the arbiters of "lawful" usage (Cheshire & Milroy 1993:6). The role played by the educational system in this process can hardly be overestimated.

Cheshire & Milroy point out that there are mainly two differences between standard and non-standard varieties of English: the different social acceptability accorded to them, and the lack of codification and official prescription of non-standard varieties.

There are no linguistic grounds on which one could argue that non-standard forms are in any way linguistically inferior to the standard variety. In fact, non-standard varieties are often more regular than Standard English because the natural process of analogy has not been interrupted. For instance, the dialect of East Anglia has no third person singular *-s* in the present tense, and south west English dialects have *-s* for every person in the present tense (Cheshire & Milroy 1993:16). Regional dialects also preserve historical features such as the plural *housen* (Trudgill 1990:80) from which Standard English has departed; *vice versa*, Standard English has retained historical forms such as the relative pronoun *whom* which have disappeared from regional dialects. Many dialects do not observe features which are present in Standard English, as for instance the derivational suffix *-ly* to distinguish adverbs from adjectives. Also, some regional dialects make useful grammatical distinctions which do not exist in the standard variety, e.g. the differentiation of three demonstratives *this*, *that* and *yon* in northern regional varieties as opposed to only the first two in Standard English.

Non-standard varieties are functionally inferior to Standard English since they are restricted to certain sociolinguistic situations and therefore also to particular registers; moreover, they are largely restricted to the spoken medium. Standard English on the other hand is employed in speech and writing, and it has both formal and informal registers.

The observation that "most people speak varieties that are regional in their basis" (Cheshire & Milroy 1993:10) has as its corollary that Standard English is not a widely spoken variety⁷. This is due to the fact that spoken English has not been successfully subjected to as rigorous a process of standardisation as written Standard English. However, spoken varieties reveal more than the regional origin of a speaker. As Cheshire & Milroy (1993:12) argue, the use of some non-standard grammatical forms such as multiple negation, levelled past participle and past tense forms like *seen* and genitive reflexives like *hissself* seems to be confined nowadays to the lower socio-economic classes. Chambers (1995:51) too emphasises that working class dialects include grammatical variables almost never found in middle class dialects: "most grammatical variables function as class markers". Thus, whereas some non-standard grammatical forms have both a regional and a social distribution throughout Britain, standard grammatical forms show a predominantly social distribution.

⁷ Trudgill (1990:2) estimates that "probably no more than 12-15 per cent of the population of England are native speakers of Standard English".

2.2.2 HAUGEN

Haugen's description of the process of standardisation appears to me more adequate than that given by Cheshire & Milroy, since Haugen does not outline a chronological sequence of stages but refers to interrelated aspects of the process of standardisation. He argues (1966:935) that the standardisation of a vernacular variety has the following four aspects:

- 1) the selection of a linguistic norm, which tends to be the vernacular of a recognised élite;
- 2) the codification of its linguistic forms, which involves minimal variation in form;
- 3) the elaboration of its functions, which brings about maximal variation of functions;
- 4) the acceptance of the selected, codified and omnifunctional variety by the community.

These four aspects are interrelated along two axes. Whereas selection and codification refer to the *form* of the variety, elaboration and acceptance refer to its *function*. And whereas selection and acceptance are concerned with the social aspect of language, codification and elaboration are concerned with the linguistic aspect. Of course, some kind of chronological order is implied in Haugen's scheme as well, in the sense that a variety must be selected before it can be codified and accepted. But Haugen's insistence on aspects rather than on (even overlapping) stages of standardisation is convincing.

The only point of criticism to be raised in this context relates to Haugen's

terminology. He introduces the four aspects mentioned above as "crucial features in taking the step from 'dialect' to 'language', from vernacular to standard" (1966:935). Although the terms "dialect" and "language" appear in inverted commas, their use is misleading without the qualification that we are concerned with the development of a regional dialect into the standard language variety, and not with *the* standard language as identified with the English language as such.

2.2.3 STREVENS

Strevens (1983:87) precedes his definition of Standard English with a discussion of what Standard English is *not*. The term Standard English does not denote an *a priori* description of the "best" English in the sense that it is not to be understood as an aesthetically or otherwise ideal form of the language. It does not denote a class dialect, since there is no possibility of defining class by reference to the use or non-use of Standard English. Standard English is not the variety most often heard, and by implication not the spoken variety of the majority of the population. And it is not the product of linguistic planning in the sense that it was deliberately designed as the standard variety.

Strevens also points out that Standard English is not subject to the rule of dialect and accent pairing. He suggests (1983:92) that "the higher the social class, the greater the possibility that an individual will use the pairing Standard English dialect and RP accent", but emphasises that this pairing is not the only one used by all

members of the upper class, and that it is not only used by the upper class.

Strevens's working definition of Standard English (1983:82) encompasses its most important characteristics: "Standard English is a particular dialect of English, being the only non-localized dialect, of global currency without significant variation, universally accepted as the appropriate educational target in teaching English, which is spoken with an unrestricted choice of accents." This definition emphasises that Standard English is only a variety of the English language, that it is not regionally restricted, that the variations which do exist are minor, that it represents the variety of English which is taught world wide, and that it has no inherent phonology. However, I do not agree with Strevens's definition of dialects as involving only vocabulary and grammar, while accent represents a separate concept which can be related to dialect (Strevens 1983:88). I would argue that the concept of dialect involves accent as well, since pronunciation is one of the most prominent features of every regional variety. To define a dialect solely by its lexical and grammatical characteristics is useful only in terms of the definition of Standard English as a dialect, which has no inherent accent. But Standard English is not a typical dialect in the first place because it is not regionally delimited. Rather, Standard English is the one exception to the rule of inherent regional dialect and accent pairing and is therefore an inadequate paradigm for the definition of dialect.

2.2.4 McARTHUR

McArthur (1979:50-67) precedes his discussion of varieties of English by a definition of what he terms "World English". World English denotes "the whole English language in all its varieties, everywhere, and all its users, past and present, with all their books and records" (1979:50). One variety within World English is World Standard English. Within this international standard variety a number of distinct national standard varieties such as American Standard English or British Standard English can be distinguished. Within British English itself, McArthur argues, Scottish English, English English and Hiberno-English have to be distinguished. In this system of language categorisation, "Scottish English" is a cover term for both Scots and "Scottish Standard English", and "Scottish Standard English" itself represents a regional variety of British Standard English.

In his article on British English (1992:156-157), McArthur distinguishes a broad and a narrow interpretation of the term British English. The broad interpretation involves "all varieties, standard and non-standard, at all times, in all regions, at all social levels" (1992:156). McArthur points out (1992:156) that Scots would not be included in British English. Thus, whereas in his article on Standard English McArthur argues that Scottish English, itself a variety of British English, comprises both Scots and Scottish Standard English, he excludes Scots from British English in his article on British English. McArthur's definition of the term Scottish English is therefore unsound, and his pattern of language categorisation is inconsistent with regard to Scots as well.

However, McArthur emphasises the importance of the perspective from which a

language variety is defined: the term Standard English (without any national or regional specification) is useful when contrasted with non-standard varieties of English, but it must be specified when dealing with different Standard Englishes. By the same token, British English can be contrasted with other national varieties of English, but in terms of regional varieties of English within Britain, British English serves as a cover term. In this sense it is not a single variety, but a shared commodity.

McArthur curiously argues that "standards are the products not only of cliques who rule empires, but also of the endless interaction of travellers and writers and teachers and soldiers and sailors" (1979:60). I do not agree with this argument, since the rise of a variety to the status of a standard variety is a matter of the cultural and social prestige attached to it rather than a matter of political pressure only. McArthur is here concerned with the propagation and expansion of English in general, but not so much with its actual standardisation and codification. Also, even if sailors, travellers and soldiers are considered as a means of contact and thus of promoting homogeneity, McArthur's argument fails to impress since standardisation takes place in the written, not the spoken language. However, teachers and writers are certainly responsible to a very large extent for the dissemination and propagation of a written standard variety, since the process of standardisation is promoted mainly through education and literacy.

McArthur asserts that Standard English is "more or less free of regional, class, and other shibboleths" (1992:983). In this sense, it is a neutral variety, and there is nothing inherent in Standard English that calls for its prestigious status. McArthur produces three characteristics of Standard English which, he maintains, linguists generally agree on.

- 1) Standard English is most easily identified in print.
- 2) It is employed by most news presenters, although with regional accents.
- 3) The use of Standard English relates to social class and the level of education.

I would argue that while the first point is certainly true, the second point is not very helpful: since news presenters mostly speak from a written text, McArthur's second point does not go further than the first. The third point is appropriate only in the sense that social class and education are correlated. The more educated a person is (and a higher social status offers more possibilities of education), the more likely he is to use Standard English.

2.2.5 TRUDGILL

Trudgill characterises Standard English as the dialect⁸ that is normally used in writing, whereas it is typically spoken by people "who would generally be regarded as 'educated'" (Trudgill 1983:186). The term "educated" in this context must be questioned. Does it mean basically literate, or does it imply secondary or even tertiary education? Education and schooling have never been synonymous, and criteria for the application of the term "educated" are not delineated by Trudgill. Later on he asserts that Standard English is the dialect of education because most teachers speak it, everybody writes it, and it is rewarded in examinations (Trudgill 1983:193). According to Trudgill, then, everybody

⁸ Trudgill does not define the term dialect here. However, in *English Accents and Dialects* he refers to dialects as "varieties distinguished from each other by differences of grammar and vocabulary". Accent, he maintains, refers to "varieties of pronunciation" (Hughes & Trudgill 1996:3).

who is literate normally uses Standard English in writing, but only a certain group of people, including most teachers, speak it. I would argue that, while it is important to distinguish written and spoken Standard English, it is difficult to define Standard English by its speakers; conversely, "educated" speakers are characterised by the fact that they use Standard English not only for written purposes, but also as their spoken variety.

Trudgill's (1983:187) observation that "most educated people betray their geographical origins much more in their pronunciation than in their grammar or lexis" in fact holds true for all members of society and not only for "educated people": the most prominent feature of spoken dialect is accent rather than lexis and grammar. There is a valid difference of degree, though, in that lesser-educated people use more non-standard lexical and grammatical forms than better-educated people. The greatest degree of regional variation is found among lower working-class speakers and the smallest degree at the other end of the social scale, among speakers from the upper and upper middle class.

2.2.6 CASSIDY *ET AL.*

Cassidy *et al.* (1992:290) argue that the linguistic distance between the standard variety and regional dialects of a language is brought about by the different degrees of standardisation in grammar, lexis, orthography and pronunciation of the respective varieties. The "aggrandizement through the development of a literary canon and the use

of Standard English as the medium of education and literacy" (Cassidy *et al.* 1992:290) accounts for the social distance between the standard and regionally restricted varieties. However, I would argue that the variety of English adopted for written purposes on a supra-local scale was already prestigious when it came to be used first in state documents. While the use of Chancery Standard for *literary* texts certainly assisted the promotion of the standard written variety, it is not alone and not ultimately responsible for the prestige of what was to become Standard English. The use of Standard English by the governing, economic, cultural and scholarly élite ensures the continuous social empowerment of this élite, and *vice versa*; the use of Standard English is a key to social empowerment.

2.2.7 McCLURE

In order to discuss the concept of Standard Scots, McClure (1979a:90-99) sets out to criticise what he regards as the popular notion of the terms language and dialect. He maintains that a dialect is commonly considered to be a form of a language which does not have the same status as a language. In order to refute this notion from a historical point of view, McClure outlines four stages in the development of a national language.

- 1) In the beginning, a series of speech forms exists; written sources reflect writers' own usages in terms of spelling and grammar.
- 2) Literate speakers employ two sets of usages, one for speaking and the other for written purposes.

- 3) Regional dialects are used in informal circumstances, whereas the variety on which the written medium is based is employed in formal situations.
- 4) The regional varieties virtually cease to differ from the source of the written language.

From this outline McClure concludes that the speech form popularly regarded as a language is "one out of a number of dialects which has ... undergone a process of social climbing" (1979a:91). He adds that its rise to prestige is due to political and cultural factors rather than linguistic ones. McClure also points out that since the term language refers to the standard written and spoken variety, it is absurd to regard a dialect "as a form of language" (1979a:91).

I would argue that the process outlined by McClure describes the *standardisation* of one language variety at the expense of others, rather than the development of a national language. McClure himself seems to fall prey to the popular notion that equates the national and the standard language. It is precisely this equation which results in the wrong assumption that a dialect is a form of the standard language, when in actual fact it is a form or variety of the national language.

2.2.8 CONCLUSION

I would follow Crowley (1989:185) and argue that "perhaps there can be no purely linguistic definition of Standard English". An ultimate and uncontroversial definition of Standard English is impossible partly because the term standard itself has essentially two

dimensions, a linguistic and a social one. The linguistic one concerns the historical process of standardisation, i.e. the regularisation, codification and prescription of the variety selected for promotion to the standard variety. The social aspect refers to the prestige accorded to Standard English, to the socio-economic motives behind its promotion, and also to the social devaluation of non-standard varieties⁹. Another reason why an ultimate, unequivocal definition of Standard English is impossible is the fact that the linguistic dimension of standard too has several implications. It can denote the standard variety as opposed to non-standard ones; it can refer to an internationally, nationally or regionally recognised standard; and it can mean written and spoken Standard English, and formal and informal Standard English. Finally, standardisation is an ongoing process which, although it aims at uniformity, is never fully accomplished since language is always variable. In this sense, Standard English "is not a linguistic possibility" (Devitt 1989:4).

For my purpose it will suffice to point out the essential characteristics of Standard English as opposed to non-standard varieties of English, and to make clear which of these features are linguistic ones and which are due to social evaluations.

With regard to the linguistic aspect of Standard English, the following must be pointed out. Historically speaking, Standard English is descended from the regional dialect of the east Midlands. Soon after its emergence, Chancery ceased to be identified with any spoken variety. Its promotion to the standard variety began in the 15th century. By the

⁹ It is the failure to distinguish the linguistic and the social dimension of standard as well as the confusion of both concepts which has led to misunderstandings epitomized by phrases like "good" or "bad" English. The essentially socially motivated debate about the supposed quality of a non-standard variety of English is futile. Only when social implications come into play will people refer to somebody's "bad" or "careless" English.

18th century, Standard English had spread all over Britain and overseas. Thus, this variety was already standardised at that time in terms of the geographical diffusion beyond its original domain, even though in terms of its regularisation it still allowed more in the way of variation than in subsequent periods. Despite its local origins, Standard English today can be described as supra-regional and hence as a virtually region-less dialect.

Crystal's definition (1995:110) involves most important linguistic aspects: Standard English is only one among many other varieties of English; it has no inherent pairing relationship with any particular accent; it represents the norm of official communication and the variety of English taught through the education system; and it is mainly used for writing, whereas in speech regional varieties tend to dominate. It has to be added that Standard English is also characterised by a normalised orthography.

With regard to the social aspect of Standard English it is important to realise that the differences in social acceptability of Standard English and non-standard varieties are responsible for the social distance between them. The promotion and use of Standard English by the socially, economically, culturally and politically most influential members of society has resulted in the social aggrandizement of Standard English and the concurrent social devaluation of non-standard varieties.

Carter (1995:148) stresses the fact that Standard English, like any other language variety, is subject to historical change and variation, and that it is therefore not a homogeneous linguistic entity. Furthermore, Carter points out the constant slippage from the notion of standard to social and ethical issues such as education, moral and

social standards, which is often encountered in the discourse of politicians and their media allies, but which in fact represents a "sequence of logical *non-sequiturs*" (1995:149). This sequence culminates in the association of Standard English with purity, and non-standard English with uncleanness. The crucial topic of the ideology of Standard English will be discussed in the next section.

2.3 THE IDEOLOGY OF STANDARDISATION

"Debates about the state and the status of the English language are only rarely debates about language alone." (Carter 1997:9)

The ideology of standardisation is mainly concerned with written English, since spoken English has largely resisted codification and prescription¹⁰. It is useful in this context to draw a distinction between standard language with *rules* (for brute facts of language) and written language with *regulations* (for institutional facts of language). The term Standard English covers "a common core of linguistic conventions and a good deal of fuzziness round the edges" (Milroy & Milroy 1991:26), and not a clearly delimited and defined set of linguistic features, even though this is often assumed to be the case.

The non-ideological force for standardisation was the functional need for a written variety that could communicate over space and time (Devitt 1989:2). In the course of functional elaboration, the standard variety came to be used for a much more varied

¹⁰ Efforts to codify the spoken language are discussed in section 5.1.1 below.

range of functions than non-standard varieties¹¹. Standardisation also involved the increasing uniformity of the already relatively consistent and homogeneous variety selected, as well as its codification. Thus, the non-ideological force of standardisation culminated in the process of codification for the purpose of regional and social diffusion and functional elaboration.

The ideological force of standardisation is based on the concept of uniformity and internal consistency, which entails the intolerance of variability: "The ideology of standardisation is inimical to change and variation" (Milroy & Milroy 1991:26). Before discussing the implications of this ideology and in particular its influence on fictional writing, the historical emergence and development of the ideology of standardisation will be sketched.

The notion of the King's English was first suggested by Chaucer in his *Treatise on the Astrolabe* of 1392, where he refers to "the King, that is lord of this language"¹². The term standard was applied to a prestige variety of the language as early as 1711 (Bailey 1991:3); in fact, even at the beginning of the 18th century it "codified a notion already old". In 1836 the expression "English standard" is used by the American John Picking in a list of American usages departing from British ones when he refers to "instances ... of our deviations from the *English* standard"¹³. The first occurrence of the term Standard English in print was in an anonymous review of 1831 (Bailey

¹¹ However, Honey's (1997:122) contention that Standard English has an ability "to perform a range of functions in relation to a complex society which non-standard varieties are not equally well equipped to handle" is misleading, since potentially, all varieties are equally well equipped to fulfill the role of the standard variety.

¹² Quoted from Fisher (1996:167).

¹³ Quoted from Bailey (1991:3).

1991:4). Crowley's contention (1991:152) that it relates to the project of the *New/Oxford English Dictionary*¹⁴, which was proposed by the Philological Society in 1858, is therefore inaccurate.

Whereas the *concept* of a standard language was explicitly developed only in the 19th century, probably by analogy with standard weights and measures (Corbett 1997:10), the *ideology* of standardisation dates back at least to the 18th century. As early as 1697, Defoe demanded the establishment of an English Academy to decide on right and wrong usage of English, and in 1712 Swift offered "A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue" in a letter to the Earl of Oxford (McCrum *et al.* 1992:135). The notion of a virtually uniform and invariant spelling and grammar, i.e. of the maximum standardisation of written English, manifested itself in the 18th century first with regard to public and printed documents, even though it only reached a relatively small proportion of the population. Essentially, the ideology of standardisation is based on the codification and prescription of one "correct" form and the proscription of all other forms. Contemporary grammar books emphasise the moral purpose of their work. As Blake (1996:239) points out, "correctness in language was important because it bred consciousness in behaviour and social mores". The general tone of authoritarianism and prescriptiveness which prevailed in the 18th century was instrumental in reinforcing this ideology. The notion of Standard English as a single set of rules "accords with a monolingual,

¹⁴The lexicographers responsible for this project were faced with the problem of regional and historical variation in the literary texts available to them as source material. Their solution consisted in imposing certain delimitations on the form of the language to be considered as the literary standard language. The resulting selection of a corpus of written English from a canon of literary texts dating from around 1500 onwards was referred to as Standard English in the supplement to the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

monocultural version of society intent on preserving an existing order in which everyone can be drilled into knowing their place" (Carter 1997:9). Indeed, the public has ever since looked to the relatively standardised form of written English as a guide to "correct" usage.

Of course, this ideology had far-reaching implications. Any forms of English differing from the standard came to be regarded as deviant. The equation of internal consistency and uniformity with structuredness and regularity (Milroy 1992:3) brought about the perception that the standard variety is 'correct', whereas non-standard varieties are "incorrect".

The ideological relation between the standard literary language and non-standard forms of English had many facets. The standard language was identified with literary and hence with written English, so that features characteristic of spoken English which did not follow the rules prescribed for written English came to be considered as deviant. This involved in particular regional characteristics, so that dialects came to be considered as incorrect too.

When the notions of standard language and literary language became synonymous¹⁵, Standard English was contrasted with regional dialects along two axes. Whereas Standard English was written, dialects were spoken varieties, and whereas Standard English was used universally, dialects were regionally restricted (Crowley 1989:99). Hence, dialects came to be regarded not only as incorrect deviations from the standard language, but indeed as inferior ones. Dialect speakers

¹⁵ As Görlach (1988:31) points out, in no other epoch in English linguistic history has the standard language been so closely identified with the literary norm as it was between 1660 and 1760.

appeared to be ignorant. This association was reinforced by the fact that Standard English was the prerogative of the privileged members of society who had access to education and who were taught the norms of Standard English. Honey's (1989:18) comment that the connection between standard or literary language and education had "an important stabilizing effect" refers to the maintenance of the codified standard variety; it betrays Honey's adherence, at the end of the 20th century, to 18th century notions of authority and prescriptivism. Also, since the norms of Standard English referred to the formal register of literary texts, the general belief that this was the only correct form of the English language entailed that informal and colloquial forms represented deviations from the formal norm, so that, in turn, they came to be regarded as incorrect too.

Finally, due to the coincidence of codification with the growth of a centralised nation-state and imperialism from the late 18th century, a linkage between language and citizenship also emerged. As a result, Standard English came to be regarded as *the* uniform national language (Crowley 1989:130). The consequences of the equation of Standard English with the national language to be taught to all citizens¹⁶ from the early 19th century are summed up with regard to the 20th century by Leonard (1990:xxi): "In fact the spread of the right to vote in Britain paralleled the spread of the right to literacy, in that both were allowed within formal codes whose names acknowledged the supremacy of the status quo which must not be challenged: Her

¹⁶ The Education Act (National Schools Act) of 1870 (England) and 1872 (Scotland), which abolished parish schools and established a uniform system of education by the government, demanded universal education with the aim of general literacy.



Majesty's Government, Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, the Queen's English."¹⁷

The ideological associations evoked by the notion of Standard English can be paired in binary opposites with the associations evoked by dialects: written *vs.* spoken; educated *vs.* uneducated and ignorant; formal *vs.* informal and colloquial; national and universal *vs.* regional, local and provincial; institutionalised and official *vs.* unofficial; and the English language *vs.* deviant forms of the English language. All this entailed that dialects were regarded as inferior forms of the standard rather than non-standard varieties on a par with the standard variety. Thus, the ideology of standardisation essentially refers to the social acceptability of different language varieties for extra-linguistic reasons.

The consequences of this kind of stigmatisation of regional and social varieties for the production and reception of dialect fiction were momentous. Since the standard variety was held to be the only correct form of the literary language, it also came to be regarded as the only variety legitimately to be used in and hence to be prescribed for all literary texts "not tainted with the merely provincial" (Crowley 1989:104). Of course we have to bear in mind that Standard English was maintained in an official and institutional way through its use by the government, in education and for all official documents. This fact in turn made Standard English, at least potentially, the form of English most accessible to all citizens (Milroy & Milroy 1991:59). Accordingly, a writer who employed Standard English in his works not only upheld

¹⁷ The term "the Queen's English" was originally formed by analogy with phrases such as "the King's Coin" and was first recorded in 1553 in Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorique* (Crowley 1989:130). However, the term is misleading; it does not refer specifically to the variety of English spoken by the royal family, but to the institutionalised Standard English variety. "The Queen's English" is also used interchangeably with "BBC English". In this sense, both terms (wrongly) refer to pronunciation or accent, i.e. to RP. Cf. section 1.3 above.

and encoded the ideology of standardisation but he could do so in the belief that he was working in the general interest of society who had access to precisely this form of English.

From the 16th century onwards there is a growing sense of literary norms which betrays itself through attempts to represent the speech of foreigners and other dialects of English by marking non-standard variants. "It is now that we begin to see the social stereotyping of such speakers. ... Non-standard speech is equated with simplicity or roughness" (Leith 1983:41). From the 18th century, representations of regional dialects began to appear in the novels of Fielding, Goldsmith and Smollett. It has to be noted though that in fiction dialect was initially chiefly used as a class marker and only rarely for comedy. This entailed that heroes and characters in positions of authority were invariably portrayed as standard speakers. In accordance with the view that the persistence of such non-standard forms was to be attributed to "ignorance, incompetence or cognitive deficiency on the part of the speakers" (Milroy & Milroy 1991:81), dialect speakers on the other hand tended to be portrayed as provincial or illiterate, or as queer folk, fools and so on. Dialect speakers in fiction invariably belonged to the lower and lowest orders of society and were stigmatised according to contemporary attitudes. Mugglestone (1995b:234) is correct when she maintains that "[a]uthors were, of course, on the whole writing from the point of view of the standard and of the standard ideology".

However, the ideology of standardisation had two sides. Although linguistic diversity and variation generally tended to be seen as a barrier to progress and indeed to social and economic modernisation and was thus suppressed as far as possible

through the national system of education (Milton 1992:223), this suppression was not successful at all levels of society and in all parts of Britain. In particular (but not exclusively) in Scotland, a repercussion of the social pressures of standardisation was that people's sense of their distinctiveness with respect to history, culture and language increased rather than decreased. The status-based ideology perpetuated by the establishment and through education was efficiently countered by solidarity pressure. People were more inclined to maintain their native non-standard English varieties and thus their identity in solidarity with other speakers from the same social and regional background, than to approximate to the norms of Standard English because of social aspirations.

With regard to fiction, this resistance to standardisation resulted in the production of more conscious and creative literary works in different varieties of Scots as well as Lowland English. In fact, as Watson (1992:192) argues convincingly, "... the role of Scots as an 'alternative voice' is sustained by the existence of Standard English as a more or less authoritarian norm – an indispensable point of reference and resistance". Twentieth century Glasgow fiction represents one of the epitomes of such a reversal of the ideology of standardisation.

3 SCOTS

"Linguistic history only indirectly follows the history of nations." (Leith 1983:156)

3.1 THE RISE AND THE HEYDAY OF SCOTS

The main dialects of Old English were West Saxon, Kentish, and Anglian. Anglian in turn comprises Mercian and Northumbrian (Price 1984:172). Northumbrian Old English represents the ancestor of the variety that was to become Lowland Scots.

Before the end of the 11th century, Gaelic had established itself as the dominant language of the majority of the population north of the Forth and in the south west. The succession of three sons of King Malcolm III (1058-93) and Queen Margaret to the Scottish throne was crucial for the gradual reversion of the linguistic dominance of Gaelic in favour of Inglis¹. These kings, who had been brought up at the Anglo-Norman court in England, introduced Norman ideas of government and administration into Scotland, which in turn became instrumental in the development of (Lowland) Scottish national identity.

David I (1124-53) introduced the feudal system of land tenure, through which all land became royal. Based on territorial units and mutual obligations of the monarch, vassals and subtenants (or fiefs) rather than on kinship, feudalism became a crucial factor in the obliteration of the distinction of ethnic groups in Lowland Scotland.

¹ Until the late 15th century, the variety called Lowland Scots today was referred to as Inglis. Cf. pp. 58-59 below.

David I also established the first burghs in the Lothians. These were fortified settlements with legally defined commercial rights and privileges, which also represented centres of administration and jurisdiction. As social units, they brought together people from different ethnic backgrounds such as Angles, Normans, Gaels, Vikings and Flemings in a protected place for the particular purpose of commerce. As economic entities, the burghs demanded an effective method of government control. In this way, both the introduction of feudalism and the plantation of burghs by the Scottish crown served as means to impose a certain degree of uniformity within Lowland Scotland, which became vital in the development of a national identity².

The first grantees of royal land were nobles of Norman and Breton origin from northern England, who spoke a highly Scandinavised variety of Middle English which had evolved in northern and midland England under the impact of the Danelaw from the late ninth and early tenth centuries. These and other immigrants settled in the newly established burghs in the Northumbrian-speaking south east of Scotland. Gradually, the Northumbrian variety of Old English spoken there from the 7th century, from the 12th century accreting and sharing developments originating in the speech of the northern counties of England, evolved as the *lingua franca* of the burghs. Inglis, as it was called then, was also affected by other languages spoken in the polyglot kingdom of Scotland, and in particular in the early burghs. Some of the Norman nobles presumably retained Norman French, at least as a second language. Craftsmen and artisans from the Low Countries, in particular weavers from Flanders and Brabant, brought Dutch and Flemish

² The first notion of Scottish nationhood dates back to the time of the Scots kings of the ninth century, whereas a Lowland Scottish national identity only emerged from the 12th century under the Normanised kings of Gaelic stock.

to Scotland. Norse-speaking Viking tradesmen settled in the burghs, and Gaelic speakers from the surrounding areas came to the burghs to trade. Gaelic never became the dominant language of the burghs. This role was fulfilled by Inglis which, as a Germanic variety, was linguistically much more closely related to Middle English, Dutch and Norse than Gaelic.

The ultimate linguistic dominance of Inglis, however, is to be explained in sociolinguistic terms. Inglis was the *lingua franca* used by the socially aspirant, upwardly mobile traders who inhabited the burghs and traded both within Scotland and abroad. Since all selling and buying had to be conducted through the burghs, everybody had to have a command of Inglis for all economic transactions of life. The language employed for trade in the burghs acquired an enormous prestige. By the latter half of the 14th century, Inglis had become the dominant spoken language of all ranks of Lowland Scottish society.

Geographically, the diffusion of Inglis took place first to other parts of the south except for Galloway, which remained Gaelic-speaking until the 18th century. In the late 12th and early 13th centuries, Inglis spread to eastern Scotland north of the Forth. This diffusion is related to the extension of the burgh system to Strathclyde under Malcolm IV (1153-65) and to Angus and Perth under William the Lion (1165-1214). Having supplanted Gaelic in the south west and in the north east, Inglis also established itself next to Norse in Caithness and the Northern Isles from the 15th century.

The prestige Inglis enjoyed as the *lingua franca* of the burghs was enhanced by its adoption by the Scottish king and aristocracy. The use of Inglis instead of Latin for official documents such as parliamentary records from 1390 and parliamentary

then on, both *Inglis* and *Scottis* continued to be used, although the name *Inglis* was initially more common. *Scottis* did not supersede *Inglis* for another two or three centuries. However, as early as 1513, Gavin Douglas used the terms *Inglis* and *Scottis* to denote different varieties. In the "Prologue to Book I" of his *Aeneid*, Douglas points out his use of "Latyn, Franch and Inglys" loans in his Scots translation as a means of lexical expansion⁴. This use of *Inglis* is a departure from the common contemporary practice where *Inglis* denotes both Older Scots and northern Middle English. The name employed explicitly for southern English was *Suddroun* or *Sotheron*.

3.2 THE DECLINE OF SCOTS IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

The main external events traditionally associated with the decline of Scots are the Protestant Reformation in Scotland (1560), the Unions of the Crowns (1603) and of Parliaments (1707), and the practices of Scottish printers.

The authorisation of the Scots Confession and the *First Book of Discipline* in 1560 meant the end of the Auld Alliance between Scotland and Catholic France; it brought Scotland closer to Protestant England. Protestant literature circulating in Scotland, as for instance Calvin's *Forme of Prayers* (1562) and his *Catechism* (1564), was normally printed in English, and a printed Scots translation of the Bible or the *New Testament* was

⁴ Cf. Aitken (1992:519).

not available⁵. But, as McClure (1994:33) rightly argues, it is an oversimplification to claim that the Reformation brought about the Anglicisation of Scots.

Written Scots and English were much more similar than their respective spoken forms⁶, and written English was readily intelligible to literate Scots speakers. Therefore, the translation of the Bible into Scots was not a primary concern for the Scottish reformers. Moreover, the authors of theological and devotional writings, whose religious allegiances lay with Protestant England, considered English as their common tongue⁷.

Aitken's (1985a:xi) claim that, following the Reformation, Scotsmen of all classes were coming into regular visual and aural contact with writings in southern English does not seem likely or justifiable. In the 16th century literacy was still not a property shared by all classes of Lowland Scottish society at all, and presumably not every literate person read the Bible on a regular basis. Also, it is more than likely that texts written in English were pronounced by the Scottish ministers of the Kirk as if they were Scots.

Murison's (1979a:9) claim that the linguistic effect of the Reformation was the introduction of literary English into every home in Scotland through the reading of the Bible, is not tenable either. Even though in 1579, an Act of Parliament demanded that every household worth 300 merks had to possess "a bible and psalme buke in vulgare

⁵ An unpublished Scots version of the *New Testament* did exist, though. Murdoch Nisbet translated it from John Purvey's English version of the Wycliffite Bible between 1513 and 1539 (Tulloch 1989:4). It was only used in Nisbet's own family and remained in manuscript form until the present century.

⁶ In the early 16th century, Alexander Hume already observed that Scots and English were "dialectes of ane tong, differing in the sound of them" (McClure 1981b:67).

⁷ For instance, the "First Oratioun and Petitoun of the Protestantes of Scotland to the Quein Regent" Mary of Guise of 1558 states that "We haif, ..., obteaned to reade the Holy bookes of the Old and New Testamentes in our commoun tounge". Quoted from Robinson (1983:59).

language"⁸, certainly not every household was worth 300 merks and could afford to purchase a Bible.

The lack of a printed Scots Bible certainly contributed to the decline of Scots, especially at a time when vernacular Bible translations were an all-important issue in the Protestant Reformation in northern Europe. Bible translations into the vernacular coincided with the establishment of the printing press. The failure to print a Scots Bible at a time when English translations were available is ultimately responsible for the prestige southern English acquired as the medium of theological and philosophical writing in Scotland. Moreover, the general lack of a strong linguistic loyalty on the part of Scots to their native tongue in the wake of the Reformation, rather than the Reformation itself, provided the fertile soil for the erosion of Scots.

In terms of political developments, the Union of the Crowns (1603) and the Union of Parliaments (1707) had a considerable influence on the linguistic development of Lowland Scotland. This influence, however, has to be placed in its proper context of the international outlook of 17th century Scotland. The Scottish crown had served as the patron of poets, historians and musicians. Subsequent to the Union of the Crowns, James VI/I's court moved from Edinburgh to London. The void left by the departure of the court was not filled by the nobility, who offered little in the way of literary patronage. Scots vernacular literary production suffered from the removal of royal patronage, which the court poets had enjoyed. But even by 1600, Scottish intellectual and cultural life, which included, besides poetry, Latin and English scholarship, music, heraldry, and architecture, was not entirely dependent on the court and the aristocracy. The Scottish

⁸ Quoted from Templeton (1973:7).

Renaissance had reached beyond the ruling élite to encompass an intellectual and cultural leadership largely made up of the professions (Lynch 1992:257).

The Union of the Crowns did not initiate a process of Anglicisation of written Scots; rather, it assisted a development that was already underway and quite independent of political developments. The functional and stylistic restrictions suffered by written Scots, as for instance its limitation to poetry and some types of non-fictional prose, and the lack of a theological, philosophical and scientific register, have to be seen in relation to the effects of printing.

The departure of Parliament to London through the Treaty of Union in 1707 deprived Scotland of its political and social élite. But, following McCrone (1992:20), it can be argued that although Scotland was denuded of its Parliament and a great part of its aristocracy, and although it surrendered its statehood⁹, it survived as a separate civil society. Not only did the professions consolidate their role as the intellectual leadership and contribute enormously to the preservation of a distinctly Scottish intellectual and cultural life, but Scotland's civic society also retained much of the institutional apparatus of self-government (McCrone 1992:21). The Scottish legal system, the established church, the burghs and the education system were kept intact.

The continued use of Scots for official legal documents as well as kirk session and burgh records provides a striking contrast to the decline of Scots as a medium for poetry. The tradition of writing Scots poetry vanished almost completely in the 17th century mainly because of the religious climate prevailing in Scotland, in particular in the

⁹ McCrone (1992:3) points out that the British state did not bring state, civil society, and nation into firm alignment.

aftermath of the Covenanting Protestants' victory in 1638. Here also lies the reason why the decline of poetry in Scots was not compensated for by the production in Scotland of poetry in English: all poetic efforts were crushed in the chilling climate of Scottish Puritanism.

The Union of Parliaments thus had no direct bearing on the development of Scots: the poetic tradition was already in decline and the production of official prose documents in Scots survived the Union, even though Scots was becoming rarer in official documents. However, the use of English¹⁰ by the professions, whose rise to the status of the intellectual élite of Scotland was facilitated by the Treaty of Union, certainly contributed to the further decline of Scots in that it forestalled the development of a tradition of expository Scots prose. It is vital to realise, though, that the spoken language of all ranks of society including the professions was still Scots. In this sense, it can be argued that the Union of 1707 in fact highlighted problems of cultural and linguistic identity.

The most important factor in the erosion of written Scots was printing. There are many reasons why texts produced by printers in Scotland were printed in English or in a blend of Scots and southern English forms. The most crucial factor was the scarcity of Scots models for printers. Also, with the teaching of reading skills relying on the English Bible, printing in English was quite natural. Moreover, many printers in Scotland were drafted in from England and the continent or had in fact fled to Scotland¹¹. Printers used the models available to them precisely because they were available and not because they were English.

¹⁰ The scholarly tradition of writing in Latin had ceased by the end of the 17th century.

¹¹ During the reign of Mary Tudor, the persecutions of Protestants also involved printers and authors, who continued their work in Scotland (Kniezsa 1997:44).

In 16th and 17th century Lowland Scotland, language choice between Scots and English was not an issue or even an option. The assimilation of Scots manuscripts to English models and the printing of texts completely in English cannot be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to eradicate written Scots. The circulation in Scotland of poetry, drama and expository prose from England at a time when contact with the great medieval tradition of Scots poetry was largely being lost for political and religious reasons reinforced the large-scale assimilation of Scots to English models.

We can maintain, then, that until the 16th century Middle Scots was a perfectly acceptable medium for both official documents and most literary purposes, i.e. those purposes that had emerged by then. In the course of the 17th century, written Middle Scots began to be influenced on a large scale by southern English.

3.3 THE ANGLICISATION OF SCOTS IN THE 18TH AND EARLY 19TH CENTURIES

While in the 17th century Scots was spoken by all ranks of Scottish society across Lowland Scotland, the Modern Scots period is characterised by deliberate efforts to eradicate Scotticisms from writing and a Scots pronunciation from speech. In this sense we can speak of a conscious process of Anglicisation of Modern Scots. There were various reasons – economic, social, political, and psychological – for Scotsmen to try and adopt a southern English model.

In **economic** terms, the Treaty of Union meant greater trade possibilities and a

considerable expansion of the Scottish market. These new developments brought increased prosperity to Scotland and resulted in the creation of a bourgeois merchant class. However, political instability and ongoing religious conflicts, especially in the early 18th century, impeded the unhindered thriving of Scotland's economy. The most decisive social and economic change, which took place from the last decades of the 18th century, was brought about by the Industrial Revolution.

The lower orders of society, who formed the mass of the rapidly growing population, still spoke Scots. In the course of the unprecedented social and demographic changes initiated by the Industrial Revolution, a characteristically urban variety of Scots emerged from the 18th century. Prejudice against urban Scots was expressed from the late 18th century on: it was the variety spoken by the uneducated manual workers and unskilled labourers and their destitute, often large families who populated the slum areas in the fast growing towns and cities. It was the dialect of the social underdog from which the recently established, prospering and "polite" middle classes, the merchant bourgeois, the intelligentsia, the gentry and the lesser nobility, had a strong desire to distance themselves. Considering urban Scots a slovenly, perverted dialect, polite Lowland society tended instead to approve of rural Scots dialects like Buchan¹², which were regarded as traditional and pure. Thus, the social repercussions of the Industrial Revolution provided the fertile soil for the distinction between "good", rural Scots and "bad", urban Scots¹³.

¹² Contemporary evidence of this attitude is provided by John Pinkerton. In his *Ancient Scottish Poems, never before in print* (1786) he says with reference to the poet Alexander Ross: "A heroic tale, in the pure Buchan dialect, would be very acceptable. But beware of the common fault of taking cant phrases for old speech." Quoted from McClure (1985c:2).

¹³ Cf. section 4.1 below.

By 1750 almost universal literacy was achieved in the rural Lowlands despite the fact that the children did heavy seasonal work¹⁴. In urban areas, **education** increasingly had to compete with the temptation of all year round employment. Also, most towns had burgh schools, which were the preserve of the middle classes, rather than parish schools. The city dwellers from the low orders of society only received a very poor standard of education. With the increasing urbanisation from c.1760, the need for education in urban centres became even more pressing. However, urban parishes were too densely populated for one parish school to serve the whole community, and there simply were not sufficient charity schools to educate the children of the poor. Illiteracy in the urban centres remained high. As a result, the lower orders of society did not usually get into contact with southern English, and naturally spoke Scots. The wealthier middle classes, however, received a splendid professional and commercial education through grammar schools, academies and universities, and this education involved proficiency in English.

For very practical reasons, the prime objective of schools was **literacy** in English. While written material in English was easily available, there were only few opportunities to hear southern English, even though contacts between Scotsmen and Englishmen increased after the Union. Despite the fact that Scotticisms and a Scottish accent were receding from the speech of schoolchildren¹⁵, Scots teachers were not entirely successful in teaching English pronunciation. In 1845, state inspection of schools was initiated in Scotland in order to control both the pupils' and the teachers' ability to read and speak

¹⁴ In much of the following, I am drawing on Smout (1989:424-450).

¹⁵ For instance, the Statistical Account for Mauchline of 1792 states: "The Scots dialect is the language spoken, but is gradually improving, and approaching nearer to English." Quoted from Templeton (1973:9).

English. In this way, the schools and the school authorities reinforced the negative attitudes towards Scots already widely held in Scottish society. By embracing the attitude instilled into them through the education system, the pupils in turn ensured its perpetuation in society.

The final decades of the 17th and the first decades of the 18th centuries were characterised by the flowering of **Augustanism**. Its demands of propriety, politeness, correctness and refinement of social behaviour and language were focused on the prestige norms set by London. The highly self-conscious Lowland Scottish middle classes embraced these norms for their social prestige.

The exponents of the **Scottish Enlightenment**, David Hume, Adam Smith, Hugh Blair, Adam Ferguson and others, who were preoccupied with the study of the nature of human identity, directed their inquiries towards progress, improvement and social advancement. Conformity to the prestige norm was considered the best means to their aim of improvement. Thus, they sought Augustan models of English Neoclassicism in both their creative and discursive writing (Watson 1993:104).

Scottish speech was regarded as deviant from the metropolitan norm represented by the southern English standards of correctness, and hence as provincial and vulgar. Accordingly, a feeling of linguistic insecurity and even an inferiority complex were characteristic of Lowland Scottish polite society in the 18th century. The most conspicuous token of this insecurity and the desire to copy England was the foundation of the *Select Society for Promoting the Reading and Speaking of the English Language in Scotland*, whose members included Hugh Blair, Adam Ferguson, John Adam and William Robertson. The Select Society were largely successful in their aim of having

qualified instructors from England give lectures on English pronunciation and to teach English in schools. In 1776, the *Scottish Academy* was founded as part of the Select Society.

Whereas the first half of the 18th century was dominated by Augustanism and its demands of propriety and convention, the latter half of the 18th century saw the burgeoning of **Antiquarianism** with the foundation of the *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* in 1780. The established position formulated during the prime time of Augustanism, that the replacement of Scots was desirable, now came to be modified. In fact, the deliberate process of the Anglicisation of Scots was regarded with nostalgic regret. A hallmark of this change of attitudes combined with serious historical research is the publication in 1808 of Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*.

The issue of language choice involves the issue of Lowland Scottish **cultural and national identity** in the 18th and 19th centuries. The "Scotophobia" (Jones 1995:2) caused in England in particular (but not exclusively) by the Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745 was directed quite indiscriminately against the whole of the Scottish population. The intellectual and social leadership of Lowland society was thus faced with the need to define their identity in two ways: in contrast to the Jacobites and Gaelic culture at large, and also in a British context. This crisis of cultural and national identity was reinforced by linguistic turmoil: while the literary achievements of the Scottish Enlightenment were produced in English, Scots was associated with poverty, chaos and provinciality. But despite all efforts to eliminate Scotticisms from writing and a Scots pronunciation from speech, the process of Anglicisation was never complete and entire.

Although the Enlightenment had a distinctly Scottish character, its medium of expression was English. But this English was not as "correct" and "proper" as that spoken and written in southern England.

From the middle of the 18th century, lists of **Scotticisms** to be avoided were published. One of the first lists appeared in 1752 in the appendix to Hume's *Political Discourses*, and shortly afterwards James Beattie published his *Scoticisms, arranged in Alphabetical Order designed to correct the Improperities of Speech and Writing*. In 1757, Hume himself described Scots as a "very corrupt dialect of the tongue we make use of"¹⁶. The misconception that Scots is a corrupt form of English is characteristic of the majority of 18th century polite Scottish society. It has to be pointed out, though, that Scots was recognised as being heterogeneous. Writers in the 18th century distinguished between different social and regional varieties of Scots, which ranged from the urban working class and rural varieties through to a kind of regional Lowland standard spoken by the social and professional élite of the major cities (Jones 1993:125). There was thus a continuum of acceptable and unacceptable varieties of Scots – acceptable (or not), that is, to Lowland Scottish polite society.

In the 18th century, different advocates of **linguistic improvement** in Scotland proposed different reforms. There were four major campaigns. Firstly, the regularisation of written English was demanded, among others, by David Hume, Hugh Blair, Adam Smith, Tobias Smollett and William Robertson. This movement only reached its peak about the middle of the 18th century with the publication in 1755 of Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*. Secondly, writers like William Elphinston, George

¹⁶ Quoted from Aitken (1980:83).

Buchanan, Alexander Scot and Alexander Geddes undertook a revision of the existing English spelling conventions. They worked towards orthographic reform independently and on different lines from the regularisation of conventional spelling. Their suggestions were not sufficiently consistent to be acceptable and ultimately proved unsuccessful. Thirdly, a number of Scottish authors promoted the eradication of Scotticisms from writing and the expunging of the "Scotch method of pronouncing English", which was considered a barbaric relic of backward society (Jones 1995:1). And fourthly, some authors and grammarians, among them Alexander Geddes, Henry MacKenzie and Sylvester Douglas, considered the efforts of "linguistic cleansing" (Jones 1995:1) both distasteful and unpatriotic and promoted the continued use of Scots.

However, these four campaigns were not mutually exclusive, and individual writers supported more than one of those causes. For instance, Hume, Blair and Robertson promoted both the eradication of Scotticisms and the regularisation of English spelling. Geddes and Buchanan were both working on an orthographic reform of English, but while Buchanan supported the eradication of Scotticisms, Geddes did not.

The 18th century saw a **literary revival** in Lowland Scotland. It was partly motivated by a nationalist reaction against the Union, partly by a renewed interest in the Renaissance poets or makars and by a new awareness of Scots songs, ballads and oral tradition, which formed the mainstream of culture for the mass of the population. The poetic productions of Allan Ramsay, Robert Fergusson and Robert Burns can also be regarded as a reaction against the Anglicisation of Scots. This literary re-discovery and re-creation, the so-called Vernacular Revival, was an expression of cultural nationalism and of a patriotic and nostalgic reaction against the Union. The Vernacular Revival, and

in particular the vogue for Burns at the end of the 18th century and beyond, indicates the change of attitude towards Scots, which was also due to the disappearance of Anglo-Scottish cultural tensions.

Scots prose writings, which in the 18th century circulated in both chapbooks and novels, also came to enjoy a period of flourishing, but not to the same extent as poetry. The rise of the British regional novel from the 18th century coincided with a generally low esteem for the vernacular. However, from the last decades of the 18th century, novelists began to exploit Scots and its sociolinguistic implications on a larger scale. The most outstanding author to use Scots for informal dialogues of his low class, uneducated characters and for emotional scenes also involving older, higher class Scots, was Sir Walter Scott. He had successful followers in Galt, Hogg, Ferrier and Lockhart. The success of Scott and Burns not only lies in their skilful use of language, but also in the settings of Scott's novels and the topics of Burns's poems and songs. Smout (1989:469) argues convincingly that Scott and Burns provided nostalgic stability and a sense of nationhood and identity in the past which was seemingly being lost in the present.

The advent of the regional novel, the development of a print culture in Scotland, and the rise of Edinburgh-based periodicals like the *Edinburgh Review* all combined to exert a positive influence on Scots literary productions (Letley 1989:321). However, with the deaths of Scott, Galt and Hogg in the 1830s and the emigration to England of Carlyle, Lockhart, Oliphant and other Scottish authors, a hiatus in Scots prose production was again reached.

In the first half of the 19th century, Scots was still used in fictional writing for its antiquarian and nostalgic merits and sociolinguistic potential, but it was not used for

serious expository prose, and in speech it had no practical value for the socially aspirant either.

3.4 THE RENAISSANCE OF SCOTS IN THE LATE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

The middle of the 19th century saw a number of developments that were to have a great impact on Lowland Scotland. A result mainly of the Industrial Revolution, but also of the Highland Clearances, the urbanisation of large parts of Lowland Scotland led to the development of fast-growing cities, which in turn became ethnic and linguistic melting pots. At the same time, British patriotism, fuelled by imperialism, and a new British consciousness confused and weakened Scottish identity, although it did not destroy it. With the Disruption of 1843, the Kirk's influence as a central institution of Scottish life¹⁷ declined, and this "bulwark of national identity" (Scott 1989:19) lost its status as a national centre. The task of (re-)defining one's identity as a Lowland Scot was inextricably linked to the question of language use and language choice.

The emergence of a distinct urban working class variety of Scots produced a new language dichotomy in the minds of many: the dichotomy between "good" and "bad" Scots. Urban dialects, spoken by the new and threatening urban masses, were considered debased, coarse, slovenly and inarticulate, in particular by educated contemporaries. As Milton (1997:189-190) points out accurately, the urban dialects in Scotland were doubly

¹⁷ As Scott (1989:19) argues, the General Assembly had been a substitute for a parliament since 1707.

deplored "because they had a substantial admixture of alien elements, and displaced or 'contaminated' the native dialects". These native rural dialects, on the other hand, were held in relatively high esteem for their traditional, ostensibly pure and unspoilt, character. While urban dialects were considered "broken English" or, at best, "bad Scots", Lowland Scots itself was increasingly perceived as a set of regional dialects: Scots was status-less outside its own tradition and literature.

Considerable pressure was exerted by the education system to achieve the prime objective of a degree of proficiency in English. This objective was not fully achieved, though, in particular with regard to speech. In 1852, an anonymous contributor to *The Scottish Educational and Literary Journal* demanded with respect to the "Scotch accent" that "the importance of correctness in discourse should be insisted on, for it is a common thing in Scotland for a teacher to read correctly and talk indifferently"¹⁸. Indeed, as Williamson (1983:55) suggests, the ability and readiness among teachers to use something approximating to Standard English (or even Lowland English) all or most of the time in the classroom was more the exception than the rule. The Education Act (Scotland) of 1872 brought into being an education system that was better organised and controlled than before, and hence better equipped to perpetuate and advance attempts to anglicise writing and speech in the classroom. The Education Act of 1872 had the effect of formalising and institutionalising attitudes about Scots which the "educated" had already held for a century and a half. However, outside the classroom local varieties of Scots remained the linguistic norm of speech.

Lower class Scots speakers appear to have resisted pressures to anglicise their speech,

¹⁸ Quoted from Williamson (1982:73).

no doubt "assisted by the strength of the social networks of family and community" (Williamson 1983:58). It can be surmised that in urban communities the new urban Scots variety became the norm. How far traditional Scots was still in use, and how far urban Scots had developed away from traditional West Central Scots, can be illustrated by a report compiled by school inspectors of 1925. They maintained that in Glasgow and district, the middle classes did not use the vernacular (i.e. traditional West Central Scots), the younger people knew almost nothing of it, and the language of the working class contained fragments of it¹⁹. There is a clear class division with regard to the use of Scots. The middle class appears to have made a transition to (Lowland) English by the first quarter of the 20th century, and among their children even a passive knowledge of Scots was virtually non-existent, whereas the working class, and presumably their children, spoke an urban variety retaining "fragments" of traditional Scots.

The 1946 Report on Primary Education states that Scots was not the language of the educated people anywhere, and that it could not be described as a suitable medium of education and culture, either (Williamson 1983:69). The advance of English features at the expense of Scots forms, which the writer of the New Statistical Account of 1845 had already perceived as an improvement (Williamson 1982:71), thus appears to have been almost complete a century later.

Since the 1980s, it has been largely accepted that most pupils' speech is a hybrid of Lowland English, Scots regional dialects and Standard English, and language use has largely become a matter of choice. As a literary medium, however, Scots has become acceptable in schools. In poetry, songs or novels with a cultural acceptability, Scots was

¹⁹ Quoted from Williamson (1983:69).

deemed a worthy subject of study, even though on a very restricted scale.

Despite the atrophy of Scots as an everyday spoken medium for all occasions, the late 19th and 20th centuries have witnessed a revival of Scots in literature. As Milton (1983:87) points out, the 1860s and 70s were the decisive decades in a movement to resist the standardising and anglicising pressures of the age in literature and to favour the local, the idiosyncratic and the dialectal. Nowhere is this to be seen more clearly than in Victorian Scottish fiction.

Until recently, the prevailing view of the Victorian period was one of decline, underachievement or indeed failure of Scottish literature. Scottish Victorian authors have been criticised for recoiling from the literary treatment of contemporary issues like industrialisation, urbanisation and social problems, and for producing a backward-looking, sentimental, rural image of Scotland in the so-called kailyard tradition²⁰ instead. But this standard account of Scottish Victorian fiction²¹, which regards kailyard writing as the authentic literary voice of the period, is based entirely on the London-dominated bourgeois book market that also served the libraries.

Donaldson argues convincingly in his seminal works (1986b, 1989b) that the major vehicle of popular Scottish culture in the second half of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th centuries was the **newspaper press**, and not a London-based, middle class book culture. In the course of the latter part of the 19th century, newspaper serialisation became the dominant mode of publication for fiction and "the world of letters became accessible to virtually every social class" (Donaldson 1989b:2). In particular because of

²⁰ Cf. pp. 75-76 below.

²¹ Cf. for instance Power (1935), Wittig (1972), Hart (1977) and others.

the Repeal of the Stamp Act in 1855, which resulted in a dramatic drop of the price of newspapers, popular reading became affordable for everybody.

Before 1855, the majority of Scots read chap-books, i.e. cheap printed collections of tales and songs distributed through town and countryside by packmen and pedlars (Donaldson 1986a:xii). These chap-books represented the staple secular recreational reading material for the lower classes, and hence for the great majority of Scots, at a time when library provision was patchy and books were very expensive. The newspaper was the successor of the chap-book both in terms of reading material and the reading public.

Whereas the London-dominated book market, which catered for the taste of the middle and upper middle classes, tolerated only passages of very diluted vernacular Scots, the Scottish newspaper press was owned, written and circulated in Scotland for a Scottish audience and thus did not have to attract an English readership. Moreover, many Scottish newspapers were circulated within homogeneous speech communities (Donaldson 1989b:4) where spoken Scots still formed a fundamental social and cultural bond.

In this way, native Scots writers catered for a Scots-speaking readership through the medium of serialised novels in the popular newspaper press. One of the pioneers of the literary revival of vernacular Scots as a language for popular fiction was William Alexander, who lived and wrote in rural Aberdeenshire.

Vernacular Scots in all its major regional varieties became a medium for dealing with the whole contemporary world and with an unprecedented range of topics including the city. In a process of functional elaboration, new genres in Scots, such as editorial

comments and advertisements, were created. Domestic tales, adventure stories, historical, folkloristic and musicological accounts, poems, supernatural stories, crime fiction and sensational tales were also written in Scots or used Scots in dialogue passages. In this way, distinct local prose traditions based on the speech idioms and peculiarities of specific speech communities emerged in the Scottish popular press (Donaldson 1986b:53). This independent Scottish literary market persisted throughout the Victorian period. With regard to written Scots, then, the second half of the 19th century was a period of "resurgence, renewal, and growth" (Donaldson 1986b:71), and not a period of literary underachievement. By the 1920s, the newspaper generally ceased to function as the main and dominant source of popular Scottish fiction.

As noted above, the **kailyard** writers persistently looked back to portray rural life in villages and small towns instead of tackling contemporary issues in their fiction. It has been argued (Elliot 1977:99) that the kailyard tradition arose at least partly as a means of suppressing working class discontent and perpetuating the established order. The second point certainly seems to hold true: as Burgess (1998:68) maintains, kailyard is characterised by "narrowness of vision [and] the acceptance of a code of unshakeable assumptions regarding conventional conduct and belief". The first point, however, must be challenged. Kailyard fiction was not generally produced for the working classes, but for the middle classes that could afford to buy novels in book form. Moreover, it seems unlikely that kailyard fiction with its sentimental outpourings that "travestied Scottish life" (Bold 1983:106) would have done anything to suppress the very real working class discontent and despair, even if they had been able to afford this kind of reading material.

The kailyard tradition is noteworthy for its use of Scots, which presumably formed an

ingredient of the popularity of the novels by J.M. Barrie, Ian Maclaren (John Watson), and Samuel Crockett, to name just the most famous kailyard authors. With an eye to the English book market, Crockett for instance gave explanations of a number of Scots expressions in footnotes, and his publishers added glossaries (Blake 1951:49). In Barrie's novels, virtually every Scots word appears in inverted commas. Despite such a treatment of Scots as something foreign or alien that cannot stand on its own, kailyard fiction was extremely popular. Indeed, as Bold (1983:106) observes, this type of writing was "guaranteed to bring monetary rewards to those who stuck to the rules". The equation of Scots with hearth and home appears to have invoked a certain pleasure for Scottish readers of remembering their Scottishness (Campbell 1981:109) – despite the fact that Scottish characters appear as quaint, that the way they spoke Scots was comical, and that they found themselves in coy situations (Bold 1983:106). In the 20th century, kailyard writing started to embrace the city as a topic and as a setting. J.J. Bell's *Wee MacGregor*, Helen Pryde's *The MacFlannels* and Dudley Watkins's *Oor Wullie* and *The Broons* are the main exponents of what Burgess has termed urban kailyard.

One of the most remarkable developments of Scots in the 20th century is the so-called **Scots Renaissance**. In the 1920s the writers of the Scots Renaissance created a written variety of Scots which was intended to fulfil the role of written standard Scots. This variety was initially called synthetic Scots or plastic Scots, and later Lallans. It draws eclectically on historical forms of Scots, different rural dialects and obsolete Scots words retrieved mainly from Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary* of 1808. The literary figure 'Hugh MacDiarmid' (Christopher Murray Grieve) was the instigator and for a long time the leader of the Scots Renaissance movement. Initially, the creation of a synthetic form

of written Scots was planned "as an antidote to the conservatism of dialect Scots as used by Charles Murray and others" (Bold 1983:51), but the motivation soon turned to promoting the status of Scots from a group of declining dialects to a national language. MacDiarmid, who himself was a great supporter of the national cause of Scotland, published his *Sangschaw*, the first collection of poems in synthetic Scots, in 1925.

After the second World War, the Scots Renaissance established itself firmly as the **Lallans**²² movement with poets like Robert Garioch, Douglas Young, Sydney Goodsir Smith and William Soutar as the literary leaders and main exponents. Although still attractive to Scottish patriots, Lallans to the Lallans poets was also a cultural cause, "a poetic banner to be waved in the face of English verse which was held to be effete and irrelevant to the needs of modern Scotland" (Bold 1983:51).

By the 1960s, a respectable body of literature had been created in Lallans. Although mainly used as a medium for poetry, Lallans has also been employed as a medium for a sustained output of expository prose and some narrative prose, notably in the periodical *Lallans*, and it remains viable alongside other kinds of Scots poetry and prose.

One of the greatest weaknesses of Lallans was and is that the traditional close association between Scots and the spoken medium has been lost. Lallans is so remote from the vernacular that it is in fact a learned variety even for the poets who use it. As Calder (1995:65) points out, poetry in Lallans failed to connect with the folk revival in the 1960s and 70s, and by the 1970s it looked provincial and politically inert to many.

Although different varieties of Scots have been used for literary purposes, Lallans is now often equated with literary Scots. But whereas other varieties like Buchan or

²² The term is taken from Burns's "Epistle to William Simson" (Murison 1977:59).

Shetland Scots are mainly spoken varieties also used in literature, Lallans is self-consciously literary and removed from spoken Scots due to its eclectic and archaic character.

McClure (1981c:98) singles out two fundamental defects of the Lallans writers' contributions: they strengthened Scots where it was already strong, i.e. in poetry, but for a long time ignored its areas of weakness; and the linguistic work on Lallans was conducted in isolation from the actual political, educational and social reality, with the effect that those linguistic efforts have not been complemented by any extra-linguistic programmes proposing to change the status of Scots. As Mulrine (1985:227) puts it, succinctly and adequately: "The Lallans writers' community of speakers is notional rather than real."

Since the 1960s, **regional Scots dialects** have been used to deal with contemporary issues in fiction, poetry and drama. The absence of a written standard of Scots appears to have had a liberating effect on a large number of writers who feel unconstrained by an agreed standard, and who experiment with the possibilities of regionalism and the expressive capability of the regional varieties they employ in their work.

Modern Scots regional writing can be regarded as a continuation of the vernacular revival in 19th century literature in the newspaper press. The reappearance of Scots as a literary medium in the 19th century was not strictly a revival of (traditional) written Scots, but a reinvention of written Scots on the basis of contemporary local speech (Milton 1983:89). In the same way, modern Scots literature is not a product of the Lallans movement, either. If anything, it is a reaction against it.

Any prognosis for the future of Scots depends heavily on the respective linguistic definition of Scots. If this definition is mainly based on the lexical inventory of Scots not shared with English, the prognosis is not very optimistic. Modern Scots has certainly experienced lexical loss since the 18th century, and the lost word stock has only partially been compensated by new lexical inventions, and essentially in urban varieties only. If, however, the definition of Scots is based on phonological and syntactic characteristics also comprising localised Lowland English varieties and allowing a lexical turnover, Scots can in fact be characterised as "one of the 'healthiest' traditional dialects in Britain" (Johnston 1997:435).

4 GLASWEGIAN

Lowland Scots can be subdivided into five main dialect areas: **Insular Scots**, which comprises the dialects of Orkney and Shetland, **Northern Scots**, which includes the varieties of the North East, **Southern Scots**, which includes the varieties of the Borders, **Ulster Scots** and **Central Scots**¹. Central Scots is in turn subdivided into three areas: East Central, West Central and South-West. The West Central group, which includes the Glasgow variety, extends eastwards to the Lothian / Strathclyde border, north- and westwards to the Highland Line, and in the south it is bounded by the Moorfoots (Johnston 1997:440). Glaswegian itself is subdivided into five types (Johnston 1997:441): (i) the variety spoken in the city of Glasgow itself, (ii) a closely allied east Lanarkshire type, (iii) a more conservative Clyde Mouth type, (iv) an Ayrshire type, and (v) transition dialects. The ensuing discussion of the linguistic features of Glaswegian² is concerned with type (i).

Underlying Glaswegian is the West Central dialect of Scots. However, this traditional variety has been greatly modified in the course of the last two centuries with the result that Glaswegian now forms a hybrid variety which, although it has retained features of West Central Scots, is characterised by the varied influences exerted on it by other varieties and indeed languages. These influences are ultimately to be associated with one major factor that has transformed the whole of Europe: the Industrial Revolution.

¹ This is the labelling used in the *Concise Scots Dictionary* (1985:xxxi and xxxiv-v). The editors of the *Scots National Dictionary* used the term Mid Scots for what has been renamed Central Scots by the editors of the *Concise Scots Dictionary*. In the present thesis, I adopt the labelling of the *Concise Scots Dictionary*.

² Cf. sections 4.1.1 - 4.1.3 below.

In Scotland the Industrial Revolution made its impact felt from the end of the 18th century when the industrial sector in the Scottish economy started to grow quickly (Smout 1969:196). A direct result of the Industrial Revolution was the increasing urbanisation of Scotland. Despite the fact that by 1820, seven Scots out of ten still lived in rural communities (Smout 1969:242), the redistribution of the population was already clearly visible. There was a mass migration into the towns and cities, i.e. into the places of manufacture. A vast number of immigrants, in particular from Ireland and the Highlands, were attracted by the gravitational pull of the city of Glasgow, whose booming industry offered unprecedented employment opportunities.

From the late 18th century, Glasgow had come to represent the manufacturing and commercial classes, whereas Edinburgh was dominated by the professional classes (Smout 1969:341). Manual and unskilled workers were therefore more likely to find employment in the west. Also, the geographical proximity of south west Scotland to both the Highlands and Ireland made Glasgow more attractive to immigrants than the towns and cities in the east. However, it is not within the scope of the present thesis to discuss in detail the major economic, social and demographic developments which led to the large-scale immigration into Glasgow, and its influence on the development of the city. What can be maintained with regard to Glaswegian itself is that as a result of the immigration into Glasgow, the West Central variety originally spoken there was modified considerably by the newcomers in the direction of dialect levelling towards a kind of *lingua franca*. However, it is probably an oversimplification to argue, as McClure (1984:11) has done, that in the late 18th and 19th centuries the native dialects were virtually obliterated by the speech of immigrants. The first generation of immigrants did not commonly speak English (nor Scots for that matter) at all, and if

they did, did so only imperfectly. It was not until at least the second or third generation of immigrants that the varieties spoken by them came to exert a decisive levelling influence on the variety spoken in Glasgow; indeed, the contribution of both Gaelic and Highland English to Glaswegian remains insignificant: if anything, the influence (such as it was) was always in the other direction. Perhaps a mixed linguistic situation always disapproves of the language of the incomer who is economically and culturally disadvantaged. (Such surely has been the experience of immigrants, in relation to their own language, in the United States.) Also, by the time other varieties started to have an impact on the dialect of Glasgow, it had already started to move away from the underlying West Central Scots dialect for another reason.

In the language generally, the Industrial Revolution brought about lexical expansion on a scale unprecedented since the Renaissance. Not only technical terms for new inventions, but also lexical items relating to the urban environment, in which the majority of the Scottish population came to live, were created and started to supersede traditional dialect vocabulary. Terms relating to rural living conditions and farm implements fell out of use in the new urban centres simply because there was no need for them. Accordingly, it can be argued that the Industrial Revolution affected the West Central dialect originally spoken in Glasgow in two ways. The varieties spoken by the great numbers of immigrants into the city came to have a levelling influence, and the general lexical expansion (mainly involving English vocabulary) resulting from industrialisation and new urban living conditions had as its corollary the erosion of traditional dialect vocabulary.

The influx of population into the fast growing Glasgow conurbation³ in the 18th and 19th centuries had unprecedented social repercussions. The social problems associated with the rapid growth of the city included overcrowding, poor housing conditions and as a result poor hygiene and diseases, slum developments and high crime rates. The emerging urban working class was made up mostly of unskilled labourers of different ethnic origins, who tended to be destitute because of the lack of social security, the uncertainty of employment and low rates of pay. In short, they were socially underprivileged. Also, the availability of schools and the extent and effectiveness of education in urban areas was often negligible. Factory employment for children from seven or eight years onwards presented a huge attraction for destitute families. Moreover, the Irish immigrants "came from a society that laid no premium on education" (Smout 1969:441), and even if they did harbour a desire for education, their Roman Catholicism proved an almost insurmountable obstacle: all types of schools, including parish schools, were run by Protestants.

The language variety which emerged as the *lingua franca* of this poor, uneducated, ethnically mixed majority of the inhabitants of Glasgow was associated with its speakers and as a consequence regarded as debased, bastardised and corrupt. Andrew Crawford's manuscript of c.1840 already refers to the influx of "a clanjamfry of Irish, Highlanders and other dyvours" into Lochwinnoch, a village in Renfrewshire, which has brought in "a Babylonish dialect, both in idioms and in accent. ... The tone is a shocking drawl ..."⁴. In Glasgow, where this influx happened on a much grander scale

³ The aggregate population of Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley in 1750 was 42.000; by 1831, that is within 80 years, the number had risen to 287.000 (Smout 1969:441).

⁴ Quoted from McClure (1985c:98) and Williamson (1982:72).

than in Lochwinnoch, such value judgements were presumably expressed even more strongly. As Milton (1992:237) argues, even serious dialectologists at the end of the 19th century regarded the developing urban varieties spoken in the industrialised centres of manufacture as "bastard modern forms" since they lacked both the ostensible linguistic purity credited to traditional rural varieties and the connection with "folk" ways of life.

A comment typical of the contemporary estimation of Glaswegian speech comes from an anonymous contribution to the journal *St. Mungo* (2.11.1905:111)⁵: "We are certain that, if He had liked, the Creator could have devised a worse accent; but we are equally certain that He never did. There is not a single redeeming feature in it. It is coarse, unmusical, slobbery, slipshod; it simply takes every one of our finer instincts by the throat. There is nothing in nature with which it can be compared, save, perhaps, the barking of an ill conditioned dog with a cold in its head." A few years earlier, R. Trotter in a serious article on "The Scottish Language" (which nevertheless managed to be objectionable on at least two counts) had compared the Glasgow accent to "two Chinamen scolding", seeing as it was "spoken in a high key, with a peculiar snivel as if the soft palate was wanting ... the Chinese being the only other mortals who snivel in the same way" (Trotter 1901:24).

The Scots scholar William Grant, writing in the preface to the *Scots National Dictionary*, dismissed Glaswegian as "hopelessly corrupt" (vol.1, xxvii) because of the influence exerted on the traditional West Central dialect by Irish speakers and other foreign immigrants. Even in the last two or three decades, renowned Scots scholars like A.J. Aitken have managed to tolerate the myth that Glaswegian is a corrupt language variety. Aitken has repeatedly proposed a trinary model of language varieties spoken in

⁵ Quoted from Elliot (1977:316).

Lowland Scotland: (i) Scots-English, which is identified with "educated Scottish Standard English", (ii) genuine Scots or Good Scots, and (iii) "slovenly corruptions of Scots" or "Bad Scots". The last variety is "common among the working classes of urbanised Central Scotland" (Aitken 1984:529). In the *Oxford Companion to the English Language*, Aitken discusses the Glasgow dialect under the entry 'Gutter Scots' (1992:457). It is worth quoting a renowned Glasgow writer's response to this kind of pseudo-linguistic labelling: "That supposed insult 'the language of the gutter' puts forward a revealing metaphor for society. The working class rubbish, with all its bad pronunciation and dreadful swear words, is only really fit for draining out of sight; the really great artists though, will recycle even this, to provide some 'comic relief' to offset the noble emotions up top." (Leonard 1973:65)

Before proceeding to the discussion of the linguistic characteristics of Glaswegian, it must be pointed out that Glaswegian is not a homogeneous language variety. In fact, it is a cover term for a range of varieties which form a bipolar continuum. At one end of the spectrum are the most localised forms used predominantly by members of the lower classes in informal speech situations; at the other end are the most non-localised Lowland English forms which are used in formal speech situations, and probably more so by middle class speakers than by others. Moreover, most speakers have command of a number of the varieties on the bipolar continuum, and naturally exhibit code-drifting and code-shifting according to the demands of different speech situations.

The linguistic characteristics of Glaswegian discussed below comprise those features of the Glasgow dialect which can be expected to occur in the most localised variety, even though no one speaker can be expected consistently to use only the forms discussed.

4.1 A SYNOPSIS OF THE LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF GLASWEGIAN

4.1.1 PHONOLOGY

In the following section, the vowel phoneme inventory of Glaswegian will be discussed without reference to other accents such as RP or the Lowland English accent. This method has been adopted in order to characterise Glaswegian in its own terms rather than as an accent differing in certain respects from a "model" accent. Furthermore, there is no obvious choice of a reference accent: Glaswegians do not look to RP as a model, and the prestige accent generally associated with Lowland English is not a clearly definable entity.

With regard to consonants, the discussion focuses on realisational peculiarities of Glaswegian, since the phoneme inventory and the pronunciation of the vast majority of consonants in all accents of English⁶ and Scots are essentially the same.

4.1.1.1 Vowels

The vowel phoneme inventory of the Glasgow dialect will be discussed in the now standard way by reference to lexical sets. In a convincing attempt to improve on the lexical sets initially suggested by Wells, Kreidler (1990:75) proposes a basic inventory of 24 stressed vowels of English accents, distinguishing between **checked vowels** (only in closed syllables, lax), **free vowels** (in open and closed syllables, tense) and **R-vowels**

⁶ Possibly with the exception of Highland English.

(in pre-rhotic position). Kreidler's (1990:75) basic inventory contains the following lexical items:

checked vowels		free vowels		R-vowels		
KIT	FOOT	FLEECE	GOOSE	NEAR		CURE
DRESS	STRUT	FACE	GOAT	SQUARE	NURSE	FORCE
TRAP	LOT	PALM	THOUGHT	START		NORTH
		PRICE CHOICE	MOUTH	FIRE		SOUR

If Kreidler were to include Scots, and indeed conservative Lowland English accents, he would have to add two more lexical sets such as BIRD and HERD to represent the r-vowel phonemes /ɪr/ and /ɛr/, because these accents have retained most or all vowel distinctions before /r/. It has to be emphasised also that no single accent of English exhibits all 24 (or 26) vowel phonemes.

Before representing the vowel phoneme inventory for Glaswegian, I wish to point out that I have changed Kreidler's keywords KIT, MOUTH and SOUR to BIN, SOUND and POWER respectively. *Kit* tends to be pronounced with a glottal stop and the reader might get the wrong impression that the vowel quality depends on the presence or absence of a following glottal stop. *Mouth* and *sour* tend to have a monophthong in Glaswegian, whereas *sound* and *power* do not.

BIN		FLEECE = NEAR	GOOSE = FOOT = CURE
DRESS = SQUARE = HERD	STRUT = NURSE = BIRD	FACE	GOAT = FORCE = NORTH
TRAP = PALM = START			THOUGHT = LOT
		PRICE = FIRE	CHOICE
		SOUND = POWER	

The stressed vowel in every keyword represents a Glaswegian vowel phoneme. The realisations of a phoneme in different contexts and, where appropriate, the lexical distribution of a certain phoneme will also be mentioned. The vowel phonemes are discussed in the order of high front to low front and low back to high back vowels, and tense vowels are discussed before lax ones. Diphthongs are discussed last.

FLEECE vowel: The phoneme /i/ occurs in open syllables as e.g. in [tri] (*tree*) and in closed syllables as for instance in [flit] (*fleet*). The FLEECE vowel is also used in words like [hid] (*head*), [did] (*dead*), [dif] (*deaf*) and [brist] (*breast*). In these cases, the FLEECE vowel is a result of the raising of Middle English and Older Scots [ɛ:] to [i:] in the course of the Great Vowel Shift. According to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule⁷, the FLEECE vowel is realised short in [hid], [did], [dif] and [brist]. The FLEECE vowel also appears in pre-rhotic position where, according to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule, it is realised long, as for instance in [bi:r] (*beer*) or [di:r] (*deer, dear*). It has thus merged with the NEAR vowel.

BIN vowel: the phoneme /ɛ/ only occurs in closed syllables as for instance in [tʃɛp] (*chip*), [kɛt] (*kill*)⁸ or [rɛtʃ] (*rich*). In Glaswegian the realisation of /ɛ/ fluctuates between [ɪ] and [ɛ], but it is probably fair to assume that the latter realisation tends to dominate. However, [ɪ] does not represent a phoneme since [dʒɪst] and [dʒɛst]⁹ do not form a minimal pair, whereas /dʒɛst/ (*just, gist*) and /dʒɛst/ (*jest*) do. The BIN vowel is

⁷ Vowel length in Scots and Scottish English is phonetic rather than phonemic. Apart from /ɪ/, /ʌ/ and /ɛ/, which were not affected by the Scottish Vowel Length Rule and are thus always short, vowels are realised as long vowels before /r/, before a voiced fricative /v/, /z/, /ʒ/ and /ð/, and before a morpheme-boundary.

⁸ *Laidlaw* has the spelling <kull> (*kill*) and 'Supper on the Wall' has <whup> (*whip*) presumably to indicate that the vowel is realised closer to [ʌ] than to [ɪ]. Since no letter of the alphabet unequivocally signals [ɛ], the spelling <u> is probably the closest approximation.

⁹ These are the two possible realisations of both *gist* and *just*, which in Glaswegian are homophones.

also present in words like [mɪðər] (*mother*) and [brɪðər] (*brother*). The stressed vowel [ɪ] in these cases is a result of northern (and therefore Scots) fronting of original Old English [o:]. The pronunciation [ɪ] of the BIN vowel appears to have been more common in the first half of the 20th century. For instance, the contrasting spelling of Standard English <i> in <ceevilisation> and <opeenion> (*Dance of the Apprentices*) appear to suggest the realisations [i] of <ee> and [ɪ] of <i>. Other examples include the spellings <poseeshion> and <meenit> (*No Mean City*). Today, the realisation of /ē/ as [i] seems to be confined to a small number of lexical items such as *idiot*, which tends to be pronounced [i(:)dʒəʔ]. The phoneme /ē/ also occurs in words like [pēʔ] (*put*), [fēʔ] (*foot*) or [wēd] (*would*) due to the unrounding of [u]. The BIN vowel is present in words such as [wēz] (*was*) and [hēv] (*have*) in both unstressed and stressed sentence position, and it can occur in *like*, which is occasionally realised as [ɫɪk] in unstressed sentence position. Because of the considerable fluctuation between the realisations [ē] and [ɪ], words like *run* can be realised as [rēn] or [rɪn], *does* as [dēz] or [dɪz], and *but*, *bit* as [bēʔ] or [bɪʔ]. The pronunciation of the stressed vowel in the personal name *Willie* fluctuates between [ɪ], [ē] and indeed [ʌ]; because of the influence of the preceding /w/ the last two pronunciations are encountered more frequently in Glaswegian than the first one.

FACE vowel: The phoneme /e/, which is mostly realised as [e(:)], can occur in open syllables in words like [he:] (*hay*) and [ge:] (*gay*), and in closed syllables as for instance in [bet] (*bait*) or [ɫet] (*late*). It also occurs in words like [te:] (*too*, *to*) and [de:] (*do*). Here, the pronunciation [e:] is the reflex of Older Scots [ø:] which in Central Scots dialects was unrounded to [e:] and remained long word- or morpheme-finally according to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule. The FACE vowel also occurs in words such as [en]

(*own*) and [mestʰɪ] (*mostly*). Here, the realisation [e] of the stressed vowel is the reflex of Older Scots non-rounded [a:]. The FACE vowel is also present in words like [gʌs] (*glass*), [gʌd] (*glad*), [eftər] (*after*) and [fɛ:ðər] (*father*). In these cases, the pronunciation of the stressed vowel can fluctuate between [e] and [ɛ]. For some Glaswegians, *father* and *feather* are therefore homophones. However, the lexical distribution of the realisation [e] (or [ɛ]) appears to be arbitrary. [e] is the reflex of an earlier Scots form [a], but in words like *bath*, *brass* or *blast*, i.e. in a dental/alveolar fricative environment, the pronunciation [a] has been retained. Occasionally, the FACE vowel is realised as a diphthong [eɪ], as for instance in [tʃeɪnʒ] (*change*), [steɪd] (*stayed*), [peɪ] (*pay*), or [weɪ] (*way*). Finally, the FACE vowel occurs in pre-rhotic position in words like (*fair*) and (*care*). However, there is a tendency in Glaswegian to merge [e:] and [ɛ:] before /r/. Johnston (1997:458) refers to this phenomenon, which he surmises is of Ulster Scots origin, as pre-rhotic vowel lowering. Thus, *fair* can be realised both as [fe:r] and as [fɛ(:)r].

DRESS vowel: The phoneme /ɛ/ occurs in closed syllables in words like [fʌd] (*fled*), [dɛn] (*den*), or [geʔ] (*get*). It appears to be subject to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule, although this rule states that /ɪ, ɛ, ʌ/ are generally realised as short vowels. Before /ð/ and in pre-rhotic position /ɛ/ can also be realised as [e:], as for instance in [gɛ:rdən] (*garden*), [ɛ:rm] (*arm*) or [hɛ:rt] (*heart*). Another possible pronunciation of the stressed vowel in these words is [e:]. However, the realisation [ɛ:r] is lexically conditioned: while the DRESS vowel occurs in words like [fʌɛ:r] (*floor*) and [mɛ:r] (*more*), it is not present in *door*, *board* or *hoard*. The lexical distribution of the phoneme /ɛ/ before /r/ for vowels derived from Middle English /o:/ is arbitrary and presumably a reflection of the fact that the occurrence of /r/ can prevent the regular development of preceding

stressed vowels (Faiß 1989:72), or indeed irregularise it. The FACE, DRESS, SQUARE and HERD vowels thus partly overlap in Glaswegian.

TRAP vowel: the PALM vowel /ɑ/ has generally merged with the TRAP vowel /a/ in Glaswegian with very few exceptions such as [ʌɑ] or [wɑ] (*who*). The phoneme /a/ occurs in open syllables, as for instance in [bra:] (*bra*), and in closed syllables, as e.g. in [baθ] (*bath*) and [paɫ] (*pal*). The TRAP vowel has also been retained as a non-rounded vowel after /w/ in words like [wa(:)nt] (*want*) and [waʔər] (*water*). In [wa(:)n] (*one*) the realisation of the TRAP vowel is due to unrounding. Older Scots [o] was lowered and unrounded to [a] in labial environments, yielding the realisations [saft] (*soft*), [aɪ] (*off*) or [tap] (*top*). However, a labial environment was presumably not the only context for the realisation [a], since the TRAP vowel also occurs in [raŋ] (*wrong*) or [əɫaŋ] (*along*), i.e. before velar nasals. In Glaswegian, [a] is also the typical monophthongal realisation of the first person singular pronoun. Finally, the TRAP vowel appears in pre-rhotic position in words such as [sta:r] (*star*), [ba:r] (*bar*) or [fa:r] (*far*). Thus, the TRAP, PALM and START vowels have merged; the phoneme /a/ tends to be realised as a centralised [a].

THOUGHT vowel: In Glaswegian, the LOT vowel /ɒ/ has merged with the THOUGHT vowel /ɔ/; this phoneme tends to be realised as [ɔ(:)]. It occurs in open syllables for instance in [pɔ:] (*paw*) or [rɔ:] (*raw*), and in closed syllables e.g. in [kɔt] (*caught, cot*) or [kɔf] (*cough*). With very few exceptions such as possibly [wɔ:r] (*war*) and [kɔ:r] (*car*), pre-rhotic [ɔ:] does not tend to occur. The lexical distribution of the THOUGHT vowel in closed syllables generally appears to be subject to considerable fluctuation¹⁰.

¹⁰ Cf. discussion of GOAT vowel p.95 below.

The phoneme /ɔ/ occurs in different environments in Glaswegian. In words such as [ɔnə] (*any*) or [ɔnəhən] (*anything*), [ɔ] represents the result of raising and rounding of Middle Scots [a] before nasal + vowel. An original [a] was also raised and rounded to [ɔ] before a nasal (without following vowel) as in [hɔn] (*hand*) or [stɔn] (*stand*), and in pre-rhotic position as for example in [kɔ:r] (*car*) or [kɔ:rɪfɛstəd]¹¹ (*left-handed*). Finally, the THOUGHT vowel occurs for instance in [ɔt] (*old*) and [kɔt] (*cold*). In these cases, it represents the reflex of Old English and Early Scots [ɑ]. In Glaswegian it is realised either as [ɔ] or sometimes as [ʌʊ]. The distribution of these two realisations is lexically conditioned, and both pronunciations can be used by the same speaker for the same lexical item.

STRUT vowel: The phoneme /ʌ/ occurs predominantly in closed syllables, as for instance in [tʌk] (*luck*), [sʌm] (*sum*) or [trʌst] (*trust*). The realisation [ʌ] of the stressed vowel in words such as [tʌdʒ] (*Lodge*), [dʌg] (*dog*) and [bʌnəʔ] (*bonnet*) is the result of a process of unrounding. The STRUT vowel also occurs as the unrounded realisation [ʌ] in words like [bʌt] (*bull*) or [fʌt] (*full*). Here it is the regular outcome of Older Scots [u] before /l/. Thus, in Glaswegian the FOOT vowel has merged with the STRUT vowel before /l/. However, lexical conditioning is an important factor with regard to the realisation [ʌ]. It does not occur for instance in [bɔg] (*bog*) or [frɔk] (*frock*). In pre-rhotic position, the STRUT vowel is also present. The BIRD and NURSE vowels have merged in Glaswegian with the STRUT vowel, which occurs e.g. in [wʌrd] (*word*), [dʌrtə] (*dirty*) and [fʌrst] (*first*). Finally, the STRUT vowel also occurs in open syllables

¹¹ The first element of this compound is derived from the Gaelic word for wrong or left, *cearr*, which is pronounced [kʌr], i.e. with [a] as the stressed vowel.

and is realised as unrounded [ʌ] in word final unstressed position as for instance in [gɫɛ:zgʌ] (*Glasgow*) or [fɛɫʌ] (*fellow*).

GOAT vowel: The phoneme /o/ is realised as [o(:)] in both open and closed syllables, as for instance in [bɫo:] (*blow*), [fon] (*phone*) or [go:] (*go*). Also, the GOAT vowel represents the outcome of Older Scots [ɔ] and pre-rhotic [ɔ:]. Accordingly, words like *clock* and *across* are realised as [kɫok] and [əkros] and *corner* and *morning* are pronounced [ko(:)mər] and [mo(:)mɛn]. Thus, the GOAT, LOT, FORCE, and NORTH vowels have merged in some contexts and tend to be realised as [o(:)]. The lexical distribution of the GOAT vowel as the regular outcome of Older Scots [ɔ(:)] appears to be fairly consistent, at least in the most localised varieties.

GOOSE vowel: In Glaswegian the FOOT vowel /ʊ/ as well as the CURE vowel have merged with the GOOSE vowel in /u/. It is realised as fronted [ʊ(:)] in all positions. The GOOSE vowel occurs in open syllables for instance in [flu:] (*flu*, *flew*) or [ʃu:] (*shoe*), in closed syllables in words like [fʊɫ] (*fool*), [pʊɫ] (*pool*)¹² or [gʊd] (*good*), and in pre-rhotic position for example in [pʊ:r] (*poor*) or [ʃʊ:r] (*sure*). The GOOSE vowel is also present in [dʌn] (*down*) and [ʊɫ] (*out*), as well as in [ʊ:r] (*our*) and [nʊ:] (*now*), because the northern Middle English and Early Scots monophthong [u:] was not affected by the Great Vowel Shift. However, the lexical distribution of the GOOSE vowel appears to be arbitrary. A number of words which have the GOOSE vowel in the Lowland English accent have the SOUND vowel in Glaswegian in open as well as closed syllables¹³.

PRICE vowel: The phoneme /aɪ/ tends to have two different realisations in Glaswegian in accordance with the Scottish Vowel Length Rule: a long realisation as [ae] and a

¹² In Glaswegian *full* and *fool* or *pull* and *pool* are minimal pairs, not homophones as in General Scots.

¹³ Cf. discussion of the SOUND vowel p.96 below.

short one as [ʌɪ]. Thus, there is a vowel distinction between the words [faev] (*five*) and [fʌɪf] (*Fife*). The long realisation also occurs in pre-rhotic position according to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule, as in [maer] (*mire*). The FIRE and PRICE vowels are merged in Glaswegian. Before a morpheme boundary, the short realisation [ʌɪ] can also occur, for instance in [ʌɪwɪz] (*always*); in this case, [ʌɪ] is the result of the raising and diphthongisation of Early Scots final [a:] to Middle Scots [eɪ].

SOUND vowel: The phoneme /ʌʊ/ occurs in closed syllables e.g. in [fʌʊt] (*fowl, foul*), [ʃʌʊt] (*shout*) or [maʊnt] (*mount*), and in open syllables for instance in [ɾʌʊ] (*row*) or [saʊ] (*sow*). Lexical distribution again appears to be arbitrary and a speaker's pronunciation can shift between [kʌʊ] and [kɜ:] (*cow*), depending on the sociolinguistic situation. The SOUND vowel also occurs in pre-rhotic position for instance in [tʌʊ(ə)r] (*tower*) and [kʌʊ(ə)rɪd] (*coward*); it has thus merged with the POWER vowel. However, lexical distribution determines the realisation as either a diphthong or as a monophthong [ʌ]. It could be surmised that polysyllabic words such as *power* or *bower* tend to be realised with a diphthong, whereas monosyllabic words are more likely to have a monophthong. However, there are a number of cases such as [sɜ:r] (*sour*) on the one hand and [saʊ] (*sow*) on the other to contradict this hypothesis. It can only be concluded that the lexical distribution of pre-rhotic /ʌʊ/ is arbitrary.

CHOICE vowel: The realisation [ɔɪ] of the CHOICE vowel occurs in open syllables, e.g. in [tɔɪ] (*toy*) or [bɔɪ] (*boy*), as well as in closed syllables as for instance in [nɔɪz] (*noise*) or [tɔɪtər] (*loiter*). A short realisation of the CHOICE vowel can occur word-medially in a few words such as [bɔɪtən] (*boiling*), [ɔɪl] (*oil*), [spɔɪt] (*spoil*) and [dʒɔɪmən] (*joining*); here, Older Scots [uɪ] has been lowered and unrounded to [ɔɪ]. Again, lexical

distribution is an important factor: the word *toil* for instance tends to have the CHOICE vowel.

On more general matters, the Scottish Vowel Length Rule does not appear to operate consistently in Glaswegian. Also, Macafee (1983:35) assumes that there is a kind of "second lengthening for all stressed vowels" in West Central dialects, including Glaswegian. It is arguable, though, whether this second lengthening operates consistently. While it certainly applies to the realisation of words in which pre-rhotic vowel lowering occurs¹⁴, as e.g. in [ste:r] (*stair*) or [fɛ:r] (*floor*), the realisation of the stressed vowels in [pɛɹ] (*put*) or [tʃɛp] (*chip*) is certainly not long. However, the phoneme /ɛ/ seems to be realised long in more contexts than the Scottish Vowel Length Rule permits. It can be surmised that speaker predilection and lexical distribution influence the realisation of the alleged second lengthening, but empirical data would have to be gathered and analysed to substantiate any such claim.

Finally, in Glaswegian (as in most other accents of Scots and Lowland English) there is a tendency to reduce nearly all vowels in unstressed position to a more fronted [ɪ] or [ʌ] rather than a central [ə] (McClure 1997:180).

4.1.1.2 Consonants

The consonant phoneme inventory of Glaswegian is essentially the same as in other accents of Lowland English, Scots, and southern English. I will therefore refrain from drawing attention to the obvious. However, some realisational features characteristic of Glaswegian that are partly shared with other dialects, as well as a few forms that appear to be restricted to Glaswegian, merit detailed discussion.

¹⁴ Thus contradicting the Scottish Vowel Length Rule according to which /ɛ/ is always short.

The consonant phoneme inventory of Glaswegian includes the labio-velar fricative /ɱ/. However, this phoneme appears to be obsolescent in Glasgow, at least among the younger generation who merge /ɱ/ with /w/. Among speakers of the older generation it can still be encountered: in their speech, *weather* and *whether* form a minimal pair.

Another phonological characteristic of Glaswegian is consonant cluster reduction. Syllable-final consonant-loss, which dates back to the end of the 14th century, strictly speaking involves the deletion of the second of either two consecutive voiced or two consecutive voiceless consonants in syllable-final position. For instance in [rʌn] (*round*) the voiced cluster [nd] is reduced to [n], and in [ɪkspek] (*expect*) the voiceless cluster [kt] is reduced to [k]. Consonant cluster reduction also occurs in reflexive pronouns in Glaswegian. However, strictly speaking the following three cases do not involve the phenomenon of syllable-final consonant-loss. In the singular form [hɑrsɛl] (*herself*) the syllable-final [f] is deleted, but this voiceless fricative follows a voiced approximant [l]; therefore, the condition that the second of two voiced or unvoiced consonants is deleted is not fulfilled. In the plural form [ʌ:rsɛlz] (*ourselves*) the second of two voiced consonants, [l] and [v], is deleted, but not in syllable final position. This is also true for the deletion of [d] after [n] as e.g. in [wʌnər] (*wonder*), where the consonant loss occurs in syllable-initial position.

The deletion of inter-vocalic or word-final consonants (rather than a consonant cluster reduction) is also characteristic of Glaswegian. It includes v-deletion and l-vocalisation. V-deletion dates back to c.1300. It occurs word-medially and -finally but never in initial position. Historically, v-deletion took place either between a vowel and a syllabic consonant, as for instance in [dɪl] (*devil*), or inter-vocalically. An example of v-deletion between two vowels is *give*: v-deletion affected Early Scots [gevə] to yield the form

[geə], which suffered schwa-loss and compensatory lengthening to result in Early Middle Scots [ge:]. In the course of the Great Vowel Shift, the high mid vowel was raised to a high vowel so that the Modern Scots form is [gi:]; the vowel retains its length because of the Scottish Vowel Length Rule.

Consonant phoneme deletion can also involve vowel changes. This is true for l-vocalisation, a phenomenon dating back at least to the end of the 14th century. L-vocalisation happened in the context of a short vowel preceding [l] and either a single consonant or a morpheme boundary following it. An example of the first case is *half*. Here, the [l] in Early Middle Scots [half] was velarised to yield [hɑɫf] and then vocalised to result in Middle Scots [hauf], which was monophthongised in Central Scots to [hɔf]. An example of the second case is *all*; the Early Middle Scots form [al] was affected by the same changes as [half], but because of the Scottish Vowel Length Rule the Modern Central Scots pronunciation is [ɔ:]. In words where [l] is followed by [d], as for example in *old*, l-vocalisation did not take place: Early Scots [ald] was diphthongised to [auld] and then affected by syllable-final consonant-loss. Later, monophthongisation took place to yield the Modern Central Scots pronunciation [ɔt], which can also be realised as [ʌʊt] in Glaswegian. There is thus variable monophthongisation.

The realisational characteristics of consonants in Glaswegian will be discussed in the order of stops, affricates, fricatives and approximants; within this framework, labial consonants are discussed first and velar ones last, and voiceless consonants before voiced ones.

One characteristic Glaswegian feature which is highly stigmatised but not restricted to Glaswegian at all¹⁵ is glottalisation, i.e. the glottal reinforcement or indeed replacement of a voiceless stop by a glottal stop. All three voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ can be realised as [ʔ] in word-final and inter-vocalic post-tonic position, but not word-initially and not before a stressed vowel; cf. e.g. [prətɛn(d)] (*pretend*). The glottal stop realisation of /t/ appears to occur much more frequently than the glottalisation of /k/, which in turn seems to happen more often than that of /p/. Examples of the glottal stop realisation include [pɛʔ] (*put*) and [waʔər] (*water*), and glottal reinforcement occurs for example in [poʔp] (*Pope*).

A characteristic Glaswegian feature which is more regionally restricted than glottalisation is the realisation of the voiceless fricative /θ/ in morpheme initial position as [h]. Examples of this realisation are [hɛŋk] (*think*), [sʌ(m)hm] (*something*) and [ɔnəhɛn] (*anything*).

Th-deletion can occur before a morpheme boundary, as e.g. in [wɛ] (*with*). Lexical conditioning is an important factor in this context, and the lexical distribution of th-deletion appears to be rather limited. However, it could be surmised that there is a general weakening of dental fricatives has been going on in Glaswegian. The phoneme /ð/ can be realised as [r] word-initially and inter-vocalically. This feature, which Johnston (1997:508) has aptly termed "/ð/-rhoticisation", occurs for instance in [ramo(:)rʌ] (*tomorrow*), where [ra] represents the realisation of the Scots form *the* (*morrow*), and in [ɔrʌsem] (*all the same*), where l-vocalisation and /ð/-rhoticisation have taken place. /ð/-rhoticisation can also frequently be encountered in words like

¹⁵ It is shared for instance by Cockney.

[brʌɪɹʌ] (*brother*) or [mʌɪɹʌ] (*mother*)¹⁶. Although the lexical distribution of this feature is arbitrary, its regional distribution appears to be largely confined to Glasgow (Macafee 1983:33).

The velar fricative /h/ has three allophones: [h] in word initial position, [χ] after back vowels, as e.g. in [tɔχ] (*loch*), and [ç] after front vowels, as for instance in [driç] (*dreich*). However, the last two allophones are largely confined to traditional Scots lexical items which in many cases are in decline in Glaswegian. In particular in place names and personal names word-medial and -final /h/ is often realised as [k], as for example in *Buchanan*.

The word-initial cluster /hj/ tends to be palatalised in Glaswegian. It is realised either as [ç] as e.g. in *human*, or as [j], which occurs for instance in the pronunciation [ʃʌg] of the name *Hugh*¹⁷.

With regard to approximants, it can be maintained that the phoneme /l/ tends to be realised as a velarised "dark" [ɫ] in all positions in Glaswegian.

Finally, the insertion of an epenthetic vowel [ə] between certain clusters of sonorant consonants merits brief discussion. This occurs between the clusters [rl], [rm], [lm] and [rn]. Examples include [wʌrəɫd] (*world*), [wʌrəm] (*warm*), [fɛɫəm] (*film*) and [gɛrən] (*girn*).

¹⁶ As mentioned above (cf. section 4.1.1.1, p.91 above), the last two examples can also be realised as [brʊəɹ] and [mʊəɹ]. /ð/-rhoticisation is a more localised feature than the realisations with the BIN vowel, and hence more stigmatised.

¹⁷ Britton (1991:26) argues that the name *Hugh* "coalesced in form with the regular pronunciation of what, in some parts of Scotland, is a common verb *shoo* / *shew* / *shue* with senses 'sway', 'swing', 'jog'". In fact, he continues, the root of the forms *Shug* and the diminutive *Shuggie*, which are perceived as nicknames rather than phonological variants of [hju:], appears to be the verb *shug*, which in turn is a common synonym for *shoo*.

4.1.2 GRAMMAR

This section will deal with salient features of Glaswegian morphology and syntax which are not shared with formal written Standard English. The salient features of Glaswegian grammar are those used in the discourse of dialect speakers in informal speech situations; in turn, they are precisely those features that tend to be represented in the direct speech passages attributed to dialect speakers in Glasgow fiction. Formal Standard English is the variety which, in a bipolar continuum, would be on the extreme opposite end from colloquial Glaswegian. Since Standard English is the variety of English best documented, it would be redundant to discuss the features which Glaswegian shares with it. However, the great majority of the forms discussed below are shared with other non-standard varieties.

The examples used in the following discussion¹⁸ are genuine. To a very large extent they are taken from different works of Glasgow fiction produced between 1902 and 1994¹⁹; however, in citing these examples, no reference to particular works is made: the original spellings are always retained, despite their possible irregularities one from the other. Where necessary, the evidence of fictional representations of Glaswegian is augmented by evidence from other sources such as Miller (1993), Macafee (1983,1994) and Johnston (1997). Finally, it cannot be over-emphasised that the features described as characteristically or typically Glaswegian are not to be understood as exclusively Glaswegian features, although reference to other varieties is not generally made. In fact, probably no single one of the forms discussed below is exclusively Glaswegian.

¹⁸ Cf. sections 4.1.2.1 – 4.1.2.2 below.

¹⁹ Cf. bibliography: primary sources.

4.1.2.1 Morphology

Glaswegian has different forms for the second person singular and plural pronouns. The singular pronoun *ye* historically was the plural pronoun; it descends regularly from the original nominative [je:]²⁰ and occurs e.g. in "Ah'm tellin ye Robert". The second person plural pronoun has the stressed form *yous(e)*, as in "Youse Proddies uv goat a week merr than us" or "will youse two shut yer faces", and the unstressed form *yis*, e.g. in "See yis efter tea then". The difference between *youse* and *yis* is evident in "Just yous two, the two of yez that're doing it". Glaswegian also has a numeral pronoun *yin*, which is used e.g. in "this first yin then the next yin and maybe another yin, afore the big yin". *Yin* has the plural form *yins*, which can also occur in conjunction with *yous(e)* to emphasise a contrast, as in "how aboot youse young yins?".

Reflexive pronouns tend to be regularised in Glaswegian. They consist of the possessive form + *-sel* in the singular and *-sels*²¹ in the plural, thus yielding the non-standard forms *hissel* and *theirsels*. The set of 'strong' possessive pronouns tends to be made regular. Thus, the 'strong' or independent first person singular possessive becomes *mines* by analogy with *yours*, *hers*, *his* and so on, as for instance in "a mate of mines" or "that silly boy of mines". Independent possessives generally have a quasi-elliptical form (Quirk *et al.* 1985:362), replacing a noun phrase incorporating a 'weak' or determinative possessive, as in "he pinched mines".

Glaswegian has a trinary system of demonstratives. In the singular, *this* and *that* are complemented by *thon*, which is the distal demonstrative used for objects that are further away from speaker and hearer than others. The demonstrative *thon* is used both

²⁰ The pronoun *you* is derived from the oblique form.

²¹ Cf. section 4.1.1.2, p.98 above, for the loss of [f] and [v] after [l].

singular and as the plural distal demonstrative e.g. in "whit's the name o' thon spotit yin?" or "thon wee place at Old Kilpatrick". Two other non-standard plural demonstratives characteristic of Glaswegian are *thae* and *them*. *Thae* is the regular development of Old English [θa:]. *Thae* is often re-spelled as <they> in Glasgow fiction to indicate the pronunciation [ðe:]. However, *thae* is not, as the respelling <they> might suggest, a misuse of the third person plural pronoun *they*. Examples of the use of the plural demonstrative include "Thae things isnae feet. Thae's fins", and "wan a they things". A more recent alternative to *thae* is *them*, which appears for example in "them toffs", "see them, them fucking things" and "them that pawns peys". In the first two of these examples, the demonstrative corresponds to *these*, whereas in the last one it has the distal meaning *those*. The forms *thae* (or <they>) and *them* are used interchangeably. Glaswegian has two other distal demonstratives, *yonder* and *thonder*, which occur e.g. in "in the corner yonder" and "thon's him ower thonder".

Adverbs in Glaswegian are often not marked by the Standard English derivational suffix *-ly*. As a result, adverbs tend to have the same form as adjectives. This feature occurs frequently in expressions such as "awful posh", "breathin heavy", "bad built", "move quick", or in "remember that really clear".

With regard to comparatives, the use of *less* rather than *fewer* with count nouns occurs frequently, e.g. in "less kids". Miller (1993:129) also mentions that the comparative form only tends to be used preceding *than*, while the superlative is employed everywhere else. Also, *what* intervenes between comparatives like *more than* or *as much as* and the following clause.

Verbal morphology merits detailed discussion. In Glaswegian a number of strong verbs generalise the simple past and the past participle forms. This convergence can

take two routes. The option more frequently encountered is that the simple past form is generalised and also used as the past participle, as for instance in "Ah've took", "he was beat" or "they had went". The second option appears to be confined to a few verbs such as *do* and *see*, which generalise the past participle form to employ it for the simple past as well, e.g. in "he done it" or "Ah seen it". A number of verbs which belong to the mixed conjugation class in Standard English belong to the weak class in Glaswegian. They include for example *tellt* and *selt*. The past tense inflectional suffix is realised as [t] after [n] and [l] in Lowland English. Moreover, the spelling <-t> corresponds to the Scots inflectional morpheme for the past tense *-t*. Some verbs which belong to the mixed class in Standard English belong to the strong conjugation class in Glaswegian. For instance, the past tense form *brung* is very common. Some verbs like *heat*, which has the past form *het*, belong to the weak conjugation class in Standard English and to the strong class in Glaswegian. In all of these cases, there is a syncretism of the past tense and past participle forms, as the following examples demonstrate: "I was tellt", "the guy tellt him", "[he] selt them" and "I've brung".

The past auxiliary *have* tends to be reduced to *a* in Glaswegian, as e.g. in "wida been" and "mighta been". It also occurs in combination with *had* for instance in "ye'da been better tae hiv goat a joab". Uncontracted and unelided, the verb group would read *ye had have been* (not *ye would have been*). Thus, in Glaswegian *had* and *have* can co-occur in contracted form and be followed by a past participle.

Glaswegian is quite creative with regard to infixation. Examples of infixes appear exclusively as imprecations²²; they include "alfuckingmighty", "prifuckingority", and "enerfuckinggenetised".

²² At least I have not yet come across any infix that is not an imprecation.

4.1.2.2 Syntax

There is a predilection in Glaswegian for progressive verb groups, also involving static verbs such as *think*, *mean* or *hope*, to indicate the non-generic aspect of a proposition. The progressive tense seems to signal the non-establishedness rather than the limited duration of the associated proposition. The utterances "I'm just meaning" and "ur ye wanting it?" are more tentative than the same utterances in the simple present tense. Also, the progressive tense is preferred to express the dynamic aspect of habitual actions, as for instance in "you're aye (*always*) smoking", "she was forever saying" or "he's always shootin' oot his neck".

The passive voice is often expressed with the help of *get*, which can be used instead of a form of *be* with no apparent distinction of meaning, as e.g. in "I got liftit", "he got flung oot", "they get born and they get brought up and they get fuckt", or "We'd get ett wursels".

The imperative involves the inclusion of the second person pronoun before the main verb, as in "don't you fret", "you keep out of it", "jist you wait" or "never you mind".

It is very common to omit a verb of motion either in imperatives such as "away hame" and "away ye big black cunt", or where an auxiliary precedes the (elided) verb and an adverb follows it, as in "Ah'll away" and "she's away a visit", or before prepositional phrases as in "Maw was away tae work" and "he's awa doon they stairs".

The infinitive marker in Glaswegian can be *to* as in Standard English, for instance in "Dis yer heart good tae hear it", or *for to*, as in "not fit for to be a teacher" or "I'm gaun fur to sail ma boat noo". The infinitive marker *to* can be replaced by *and* in directive utterances which involve two imperatives, as in "away and answer the door", "away an

fuck ya hun", "Try and mind" or "see an' get baurley sugar". In negative commands, periphrastic *do* does not occur. An example of this is "See an' no' let it nip yer finger".

The use of modal auxiliaries particularly merits detailed discussion. *Dare* and *use(d)* *to* are treated as main verbs in Glaswegian. Glaswegian lacks the modals *shall*, *may* and *ought*. The functions these modals have in other varieties are taken over partly by other modals and partly by lexical verbs in Glaswegian. Thus, Glaswegian uses *will* instead of *shall* to express intention, insistence, willingness and prediction. An example of the use of *will* to elicit information about the addressee's intentions is "will Ah make ma dad's tea?" or "Will ye have a snifter, old fella?". In both cases, the speaker anticipates a positive response. In the interrogative sentence "Will ye no' come ben?" *will* is employed as an imminent future marker, whereas in "will ye stop grumbling" and in "will ye let me pour these tatties", *will* is used to express the speaker's insistence on the associated proposition. Pragmatically, these utterances are offers or demands, not interrogatives. Hence, their discourse function is directive rather than elicitive. Occasionally, Glaswegian uses *should* to indicate an elicitive function, as in "Should ah come in?" This interrogative sentence is more tentative than "will ah come in?".

Glaswegian tends to express permission by the use of *can* rather than *may*, as in "Please sir kin we have mair ice-cream?", or in "Can I get oarin', Paw?". Possibility is expressed by the use of *might*, as e.g. in "Might get a gemm, if we're lucky".

In order to express advice, obligation and necessity, Glaswegian uses a variety of modals and lexical verbs. However, the Standard English use of *should* to express advice, the use of *ought* to express moral obligation and the use of *must* to express necessity are all uncommon in Glaswegian. Advice and necessity tend to be expressed by the use of *would* in Glaswegian, as e.g. in "widye look at them" or "wid ye lookit the

state ae it". *Want* also serves as an equivalent of Standard English *ought*, as for instance in "Ye wanty see it" or "Ye wanty get in some bayonet practice oan um". The use of the modal *should* tends to be restricted to the expression of a certain expectation, such as "shouldnae be long noo" or "this should be good". *Should* does not generally denote advice or necessity.

Need is used in the obligation meaning in Glaswegian as in Standard English. However, while serving the same function, *need* behaves like a lexical verb in Glaswegian. Thus, it can occur after a modal as in "Ah'll need tae be going" or "we'll need tae hurry", in questions with periphrastic *do* as in "d'ye need tae see it?" and in the past tense, as in "he needed to be doing things". When used as a main verb in Standard English, *need* does not usually appear in the progressive aspect, but in Glaswegian it frequently does, as for instance in "Ah'm needin' a drink".

Apart from *need to*, the verbs *have to*, *have got to*, *will have to*, *supposed to* and *meant to* are used to express obligation. On the basis of the interviews he conducted, Miller (1993:118) makes the interesting observation that these verbs denote different degrees of compulsion: *have to* and *have got to* appear to be used for rather strong external compulsion, whereas *need to* is used to refer to milder obligation. The modal *must* occurs with obligation meaning when a verb of motion is omitted, as in "I must away"; arguably, in this case it functions as a main verb.

The modal *must* is predominantly used to express conclusion, as in "muss be a guilty conscience" or "They muss hiv broat a rimovil van". The use of *must* to express obligation appears to be restricted to fixed phrases such as "Ah muss say". In order to express the negative notion 'I conclude that not', *mustn't* is often employed (Miller 1993:119). However, the Standard English use of *cannot* is also common in

Glaswegian, for instance in "cannae uv been merr than six year auld". Occasionally, *mustn't* is used in the Standard English meaning *may not*, as in "ye mustnae gie way".

Probability can also be expressed by the use of the adverb *likely*, as in "they would be likely better off", "I'll likely get razored" and "your father will be hame likely ony time noo".

In conditional sentences *would* is frequently used in the if-clause, as in "if Lawrence wid stoap tryin ... we might start getting somewherr". The subjunctive *were* tends to be avoided, as the examples "if I was you" and "you better humour him like" show.

Occasionally double modals can occur, as in "thill kin get" (*they will can get*). The combination of *will* and *can* according to Miller (1993:120) appears to be at least a century old, and it is also the most common double modal combination²³.

The modal *will* tends to appear as a clitic when the subject of the auxiliary is either a proper noun, as in "bugger'll have his pay", or a name, as in "Joseph'll no be a minnit".

The verbs *want* and *need* tend to be complemented by a past participle rather than a present participle, as e.g. in "yer hair needs washed". It could be argued that this kind of complementation represents a disambiguation: the present participle used after *want* or *need* in Standard English is described by Quirk *et al.* (1985:1189) as a "subjectless *-ing* participle clause" which represents the object of the clause. The authors maintain that with a small group of verbs including *need* it is this understood object, i.e. the participle, which is identified with the subject of the superordinate clause. Through the use of the past participle, this ambiguity disappears, since *washed* is not to be understood as an underlying subject in the same way as "washing" can be.

²³ It is worth noting that the example "thill kin get" is in fact the only occurrence of a double modal in the corpus of Glasgow fiction consulted.

Glaswegian has different forms of negation. The negative particle can be retained as a free isolate particle in its full form *no*, which corresponds to Standard English *not*, while the preceding auxiliary is cliticised. Examples of this kind of negation include "it's no come to anything", "she's no merrit", "it's no' worth reading" and "d'ye no hear me". The negative clitic *-nae* is added to an auxiliary, which functions as the operator, yielding forms such as *canny*, *couldnay*, *didnae*, *wisnay*, *werny* and so on. The negative quantifier is *nae*. Although its form suggests that it is identical with the negative enclitic particle *nae*, the quantifier *nae* is derived from Old English [nɑ:]. However, the negative quantifier can also take the form *no*. It appears e.g. in "Ah'll have nae mair trouble" or in "I've no timetable for you". Occasionally, and in particular in sentence tags, the negative particle is contracted while the auxiliary is retained; this gives rise to the forms "wullen't they" and "amn't I". Presumably these forms are the result of a tendency to regularise certain paradigms. *Won't* is largely absent from Glaswegian. In fact, apart from *don't*, the contracted negative particle *n't* is virtually restricted to tags²⁴ in the most localised varieties of Glaswegian.

Multiple negation is also characteristic of Glaswegian, as indeed of most urban varieties of English. It occurs for instance in "couldnae ca' it naethin'", "he canny suffer nae mair", "didnay make nay difference" or "ye don't blame nae cunt neither".

Never is used to negate a single incident in the past rather than to refer to the past generally and collectively. Apart from indicating a specific reference in time, as in "I couldnay tell you who I saw and who I never saw" or "I'll say you never", *never* is also used for emphasis, as for instance in the short exchange "Please sir he spat on my dinner." "Please sir I never!"

²⁴ Cf. p.116 below.

There appears to be a tendency in general Lowland usage to prefer the use of verbal nouns to that of infinitives (Miller 1993:130). Thus, verbal noun complementation is quite frequent in Glaswegian, as in "he didn't want Mr Alfred talking back", "use it for writing", "it's for going to the shops with" and "big dauds of potty fur stickin' in holes". The Glaswegian tendency to nominalisation is also apparent in "I need a sit down" or "it's me for the long lie".

In ditransitive verb groups where the direct and the indirect objects are pronouns, the indirect object pronoun can be placed before the direct object pronoun. Examples of this word order include "show it her" and "I'll pay ye it back".

Inversion can be caused when *get* is used in its standard sense of becoming, as e.g. in "Naw', shi goes, aw impatiunt gettin'".

Glaswegian is very prone to elide subject relative pronouns, as in "there's some will never learn", "it was the wife answered" and "she had a pal worked beside her". As the last example demonstrates, this kind of elision is not restricted to existential clauses and cleft constructions, although it could be argued that subject relative pronoun elision occurs most frequently in the latter.

The relative pronoun used most frequently in Glaswegian is *that*. It occurs not only in restrictive relative clauses, as e.g. in "thon's a man that had it in the neck", but also in non-restrictive relative clauses. However, non-restrictive relative clauses are rare and tend to be avoided in favour of paratactically co-ordinated clauses. Examples include "Ah'm going up the toon wi' Lizzie Ramsay from Mathieson Street, her that works in the bakery" and "it's jist like auld MacKinky's – him that used tae write til the newspapers".

While *wh*-forms are rare in restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Glaswegian, *which* functions as the sentential relative pronoun referring back to a part of or to the whole preceding sentence, or indeed paragraph, rather than only to the preceding noun phrase. The sentential relative word *which* tends to introduce a new sentence, as in "Which was the story of last week" or "Which was the fucking problem".

Another characteristic of Glaswegian syntax involves small clauses such as "imagine her saying that", "Imagin seein thaym comin ower yer shooder'n a dark night" and "imagine you knowing about it". A small clause lacks finiteness and in lacking this, it frees its subject. The imperative is followed by a personal pronoun as its object and it also functions in some subject-like relationship with the following verbal noun.

The emphatic or expressive use of cleft constructions as well as *and*-conjuncts is another characteristic feature of Glaswegian. Examples of cleft constructions include "Izzat you at it again?", "That's us git wan each", "That you bein profound again?", "That'll be the whole building wakened up", "what is it you're thinking of buying?" and "who was it wrote that?". *And*-subordination followed by a noun phrase but no finite verb is used to refer to two actions taking place at the same time. This construction occurs e.g. in "no wi' me working an' him on the dole", "he wid ha' walked awa' wi' a coalman, carryin' bags o' coal up aw they sterrs, an' him still attendin' the infirmary", and in "her pretty movements endeared her to him and he afraid to tell her so". The subject personal pronoun tends to be used in the object case both in cleft constructions and with *and*-conjuncts, although, as the last example shows, this is not invariably the case.

The subject pronoun frequently appears in the object case in typically emphatic structures, as in "Him! – He'll sign in the night", "ach, her!", "She had started speaking Kelvinside too – her, out of a Partick fish-shop!" and "he must have been a right failure, him". However, it is also common in utterances with no particular emphasis such as "as bad as them" or "him and I have some rare arguments". Moreover, demonstratives rather than personal pronouns are also used for resumptive emphasis, as in "she's a right tear thon" or "He's got in with a right bad lot, that one".

The subject-verb concord-rule is not strictly followed in Glaswegian. Generally, plural subject nouns and pronouns combine with the verb in the third person singular, as in "I says", "ye does yer crime", "was you ever at Collinsburn", "wasn't we lucky", "my braces is broke", "yer knickers is hingin doon" and "the nayburs is complainin'". Incidentally, the use of the third person singular inflection *-s* for all persons singular and plural in the present tense violates the northern present tense rule, which requires no suffixation in the context of an adjacent plural pronoun subject. The northern concord rule, however, appears to be observed in Glaswegian. It states that the impersonal subject pronoun *there* is always followed by a verb in the singular. Examples include "there was people", "there was stains" and "there was things".

A characteristic Glaswegian feature is the use of *us* instead of *me* with singular reference. It is common in imperatives such as "give us a hand", "give us a break, eh!", "give's half a chance" or "just tell us", and it also occurs in declarative sentences such as "Furss tapology Ah vivir heard yi makin tae us". Frequently, cliticisation of the indirect object pronoun takes place before the direct object, yielding the form *gie's*, as in "giezit back", "Gie's a song" or "gie's peace".

In measure phrases, *bit*, *plenty*, and *ween* tend to be followed directly by a noun or verbal noun without the intervention of the preposition *of*. Examples of this use of open class quantifiers include "a wee bit order therr", "a wee bit bevvv", "plenty time" and "'a ween biscuits". Measure nouns preceded by a numeral do not necessarily have a plural inflection, as the examples "six year auld", "ten year ago" and "therty year in the jile" show.

Glaswegian uses the definite article in various contexts where Standard English has a zero-determiner. The definite article occurs with a number of nouns denoting institutions, such as "at the Uni", "in the jail" or "to the chapel", with certain diseases such as "the measles", and with periods of time including "the noo", "the morrow", "the morn's nicht", "the day" (*today*) or "the night" (*tonight*). Glaswegian also uses the definite article when referring to partners, but curiously only with respect to female ones such as "the wife", "the missus" and "the girlfriend"; however, the expression "the wean" is also common, whether the child is a boy or a girl. The definite article also appears before some quantifiers as for instance in "thi baith ae thim" (*the both of them*), "the perry yiz" (*the pair of youse*) and "the lot of ye". A possessive pronoun is used as a determiner in Glaswegian before nouns denoting meals, such as "yer dinner", "ma breakfast" or "wur tea", as well as in the expression "Ah'm away tae ma bed". Also, a possessive pronoun can function as a determiner before certain verbal nouns or nouns as in "stoap yer greetin" and "what's yer hurry?" The last two examples are also indicative of the tendency towards nominalisation in Glaswegian.

With regard to prepositions, several characteristic Glaswegian uses are noteworthy. The preposition *out* is not usually followed by *of*, but immediately by the prepositional complement, as in "things out his control", "out yer mind", "out the question" and "out

the house"; as these examples show, *out* does not have to be preceded by a verb of motion for *of* to be elided. Also, some prepositions are used differently from Standard English, as e.g. in "worry for", "gled of", "mind of" (*remember*), "inside forty minutes" "disappointed in you", "thinking on you", "laucht til him", "wunner at ye" and "frightened for". The preposition *after* is inserted between a finite verb and a noun phrase to signal the perfect aspect of a predication. In the examples "Ah'm jist efter ma dinner" and "he's efter daein it" the use of *after* denotes recently performed actions²⁵.

Various interrogatives also represent characteristic Glaswegian features. *How* is used for Standard English *why*, e.g. in "How me?" or "How d'ye no bring um out wi ye?". *What* is preferred to *which* to denote one of a set of known items, as in "What shirt do you want to wear tomorrow?". *What ... for* or *What way* is preferred to *why*, as for example in "whit will ye no' talk to me for?", "whit ye wantin the time fur?", "what the hell are ye scootin' away like that for?", or "Whit wey has it got nae ooss on its feet?".

Often, inversion takes place in indirect questions, yielding constructions such as "I wonder did he make it". *What time ... at* is used interchangeably with the interrogative *when*, as in "what time dis yer dad come hame at?".

Another characteristic Glaswegian feature is the frequent use of tags. The tag *eh* is added to both positive and negative statements and questions, as in "you'll no speak, eh?", "how's that for a wager, eh?", "no a bad day, eh?", "Damn good shot that, eh?" and "good at the old mental, eh?". The tag *but* is used in the meaning *though* or *however* to contradict or qualify the preceding proposition. Examples of the adverbial use of *but*

²⁵ For a more detailed discussion and fuller account of the use of propositions in Lowland English in general, cf. Miller (1993:131-132).

include "tasted horrible but", "fucking great but", "he was definitely blind but" and "the patter was good but". Occasionally, both tags *eh* and *but* occur together, as in "you know them but eh" and "it's a carry on but eh". The tag *tae* is added to utterances to reaffirm the preceding proposition as for instance in "e used tae be a nice fulla tae", "ur wee pal's awright tae", "aboot time tae", or "An' Ah wull, tae!". Other clause-final tags frequently encountered in Glaswegian are *and that* as in "the wife in that" or "get it ower and done and that", *and all that* as in "a good pal and all that", "Making up the giro and all that", or "The tiff with Helen and aw that", and *an all* as in "wi' free holidays in Barlinnie an' aw" or "tae waste good beer an' aw". These tags serve as discourse markers which slow down the pace of narration; at the same time, they indicate that the preceding statement implies more than is actually said, but that the listener is familiar with the details and will fill in the blanks himself.

Assertive sentence tags do not invariably follow the Standard English pattern, where a positive statement requires a negative tag and *vice versa*. The basic pattern of sentence tags in Glaswegian is *so* + personal pronoun + verb. However, this pattern can be modified in negative tags, where *neither* can replace *so*. Frequently, positive tags follow positive statements, as in "talks a lotta shite so e dis", "makes ye deaf so it dis" or "Ah'll get into him masel, so Ah wull". However, negative tags can also follow positive statements as in "Looks lik a big toly disn't it!", "Ye are but in't ye?" or "Tar's brilliant stuff, intit". Also, negative tags can follow negative statements to reinforce the predication, as in "can't stand them, so I can't" or "yiv nae ramance in yir soul neethir yi hiv".

Finally, a number of devices are used for emphasis in Glaswegian, in addition to those noted in relation to other usages above. In the sense that these devices perform a task in the discourse which is taking place, they can be characterised as discourse features²⁶. They include the topicaliser *see*, usually followed by a noun phrase, as in "see you an yer old songs", "see that wan wee Rab done" and "see the smell aff it". Occasionally, *see* is followed by a verb, as in "See taw kaboot a moonlight flit". *Like* is used in questions to concentrate a request for information on a particular point (Miller 1993:136), as in "ye want to know like?", "d'ye get them like?" and "How d'ye mean like?". *Like* may have the function of softening or rendering informal and even friendly a question or other utterance form that might look impertinent. In declarative sentences, *like* serves as a kind of contents disjunct mitigating the preceding proposition, as in "Ah wisnae expectin it like" or "it wid be safer like"; it can also have the ironic meaning of *course* as in "wurraw fascists except him like".

4.1.3 LEXIS

The following word lists comprise those lexical items from the corpus of Glasgow fiction analysed that are typically associated with Glaswegian; again, this does not mean that these edited highlights are regionally restricted. The word lists have been selected for the purpose of exemplification, not for the sake of completeness²⁷. They are given

²⁶ Cf. section 7.2.1.1 below.

²⁷ For the complete lists of non-standard lexical items gathered from the Glaswegian novels and short stories analysed, cf. appendix.

for every fictional work separately. The works themselves appear in chronological order, whereas the lexical items within each work of fiction are listed in alphabetical order and with the spellings employed in the respective works.

Wee MacGreegor (1902): bummin'; close; daftie; dauner; doot (*expect*); gaun yer messages; gie's yer crack; jaw-box (*sink*); peely-wally; peery-heidit; piece (*sandwich*); shoogly; sook; stairheid; sugar-ally; taiblet; weans.

No Mean City (1935): bit stuff; ben the kitchen; bread-snappers; chanty; china (*friend*); to click, a click; hairy (*girl*); heid yins; nit the jorrie; paraffin; shebeens; sherricking; stair-heid; wean; winching.

The Shipbuilders (1935): at all, at all; clout; for crivvens sake; gees (*horses*); hauf and hauf-pint; hippen (*nappy*); make a cod of me; on the Dole or the Parish; shut your face.

Dance of the Apprentices (1948): do a bunk; food press; jawbox; haud yer wheesht; jorries; oan the ran-dan; peeever; peeries; skedaddled; smairten masel' up; that's champion.

The Changeling (1958): doon the watter; gallusly; greeting (*crying*); heidie; wi' a sicht o' wally (*a tiled room, i.e. a toilet*).

The Dear Green Place (1966): cahootchie balls; close mouth; dauner; go a message; heid case; keelie; loup (*be sore*); pieces (*sandwiches*); scullery; semmit and drawers; struth; wally dugs.

Mr Alfred MA (1972): howff; midden; patter.

Its Colours They Are Fine (1977): a right blue-nose; a tongue lik a spam fritter; buroo; chib (*razor*); dead gallus; furrat; gie it laldy; heidbanger; lik flies roon a toly; mah hoose (*my flat*); makin a rammy; single end; yer face is trippin ye; burd (*girl*).

Laidlaw (1977): aff yer heid; doubt (*expect*); flung oot; heid bummer; piece-tin; wean daft.

'Moonlighting' (1980): moonlight flit.

How Late It was How Late (1994): bampot; blooter; bogging; chokablok; ginger (*softdrink*); going like the auld clappers; it was murder polis; lobby press; mawkit; offski; on the razzle; pap him oot; skelly; skite; steamboats (*drunk*); the Barras; the game's a bogie; tims; winey.

4.2 THE LITERARY TREATMENT OF MARGINALISED SCOTS:

GLASGOW FICTION

"The stance and voice of the dominant tradition is one which marginalises other stances and other kinds of voice." (Milton 1997:205)

4.2.1 THE EMERGENCE OF GLASGOW FICTION

The term Glasgow fiction as used in this study has two dimensions. In the broader sense, it denotes novels and short stories set for a substantial part of the story in Glasgow itself or in the Glasgow conurbation. In the narrower sense, it implies that the works of fiction meeting this criterion must also contain identifiable representations of the Glasgow dialect. However, the literary merit of such works of Glasgow fiction is disregarded here. In fact, almost all of the 20th century novels considered in any detail are of some considerable literary interest or merit when judged on their own terms.

Glasgow fiction in the narrower sense did not emerge until well into the 20th century. Novels in book form and in newspaper serialisations set in Glasgow and containing

representations of Scots were produced in the 19th century as well, but the majority of these works dealt with Glasgow as a prosperous, commercial city rather than a place where industrialisation and urbanisation had created unprecedented social problems for the vast majority of its inhabitants. Accordingly, these works did not contain representations of the most localised forms of Glaswegian, which tend to be spoken by the lower classes. Some 19th century novels, e.g. George Roy's *Generalship* (1858), David Pae's *The Factory Girl, or, The Dark Places of Glasgow* (1868), Archibald MacMillan's *Jeems Kaye* (1870s-80s) and Henrietta Keddie's *St. Mungo's City* (1884) are set in Glasgow and deal with working class rather than middle class life. However, the non-standard speech passages represented in these works tend to be in General Scots or Central Scots, but not in identifiable Glaswegian²⁸. Burgess's (1998:29) contention that "no great novelists – certainly no canonically acknowledged novelists – tackled the subject of industrial Glasgow in the late 19th and early 20th centuries" is accurate.

The late appearance of industrial and urban Scottish fiction in general and of Glasgow fiction in particular is a reflection of the life and culture 19th century novelists knew. As members predominantly of the middle class, they wrote about matters they were familiar with, and their experience did not include working class life. As a result of the absence of working class Glasgow novels in the 19th century, the voice of the socially underprivileged urban masses was not represented in fiction until the present century.

A number of reasons have been put forward for the absence of 19th century Glasgow

²⁸ J.J. Bell's *Wee MacGreegor* (1902) really has to be counted among these 19th century novels too, despite its date of publication. The direct speech passages contain very few indications of a localised dialect of Central Scots, and the vocabulary in the glossary pertains to General Scots. *Wee MacGreegor* could be set anywhere in the Central Belt.

fiction proper. A taste for historical and romantic novels together with the fact that there were no literary models for urban fiction certainly delayed the emergence of novels dealing with contemporary urban social issues. However, "the lost chances of the 19th century" (Morgan 1984:5) of writing unpatronising, unsentimental and realistic fiction about the experiences and representing the speech of working class city dwellers in industrialised Glasgow can largely be attributed to a lack of awareness rather than a lack of commitment.

The late appearance of identifiable passages of Glaswegian speech in fiction has been associated linguistically with the rather recent origin of distinctive Glaswegian forms (Macafee 1982:47). But while it is probably justifiable to claim that the entirety of features now regarded as salient was not yet in place in the 19th century, we have to bear in mind that the existence of a distinctive urban West of Scotland variety was noted as early as 1840²⁹, and that a range of Glaswegian features were already discussed by dialectologists and scholars like R. Trotter at the turn of the century. It is more plausible to assume a lack of detailed knowledge of the linguistic features of Glaswegian on the part of the middle class authors who wrote fiction set in Glasgow in the 19th and early 20th centuries, rather than the non-existence of such features.

Finally, literary factors too were responsible for the late emergence of representations of Glaswegian in fiction. Glaswegian was regarded as debased and corrupt, and even as unintelligible to Lowland Scottish middle and upper middle class society. Hardly considered fit for purposes of everyday communication, Glaswegian in their opinion was certainly not thought fit to be used in literature. As Morgan (1983:196) points out, a

²⁹ Cf. section 4.1, p.83 above.

dislike or even fear of slanginess and uncouthness presented an important factor inhibiting the use of Glaswegian for literary purposes.

The generally more linguistically tolerant climate of at least the second half of the 20th century, however, proved to be a fertile soil for literary works involving representations of Glaswegian. Still, this does not by any means imply that such experiments are unanimously appreciated. Only twenty years ago, David Murison, one of the pioneering Scots scholars, wrote: "Modern Scottish writers, striving for realism, reproduce this [Glasgow] speech faithfully, but one may question how far it is Scots at all and not merely a kind of broken English. This is especially true of the speech of the industrial areas, where the influence of Highland and Anglo-Irish, the new vocabulary of industrialisation imported from English, the general currency of standard and substandard and slang English, particularly on the social strata of the towns, have all combined to attenuate and even obliterate Scots" (Murison 1977:56).

Glaswegian was thus marginalised by two dominant traditions: the literary tradition of Standard English, and the literary tradition that employs "good" Scots. "Good", strong, pure Scots was generally assumed to be synonymous with rural Scots, whereas urban varieties were spoken by people from different traditions and different ethnic backgrounds who had mingled in the city and in the process had lost their separate identities (Milton 1997:93). Accordingly, urban dialects were considered as corrupt and indeed as contaminated, and certainly as unworthy of a literary status. Moreover, it can be surmised that the Scottish middle classes as well as the rural population considered it unlikely that anything of value could be created at all under the appalling living conditions city dwellers existed in.

The written representation of Glaswegian in fiction meant a break away from the tradition of using "good" Scots in fiction. Representations of Scots in 19th century novels were based either on traditional rural Central Scots varieties, as e.g. in the works of Scott, Galt, Hogg or Stevenson, or on more localised, rural dialects, in particular of the North East, as used successfully by authors like William Alexander and George MacDonald.

At the same time, the authentic representation of Glaswegian and the speech realism thus achieved also meant a break away from the contemporary literary treatment of non-Standard English. Certainly in 19th century fiction, re-spellings were often employed to signal deviations from the standard rather than to indicate a specific pronunciation, i.e. the emphasis was on convention rather than realism. Dialect representations tended to create impressions rather than accurate renderings. In Glasgow fiction from the 1930s onwards, representations of Glaswegian generally strive for linguistic accuracy and authenticity.

Most writers had dealt with the urban and industrial theme in fiction either from a patronising middle class point of view, as e.g. Blake, or "from the more detached viewpoint of a rural upbringing" (Burgess 1998:149), as did Neil Gunn in *Wild Geese Overhead* or Lewis Grassie Gibbon (James Leslie Mitchell) in *Grey Granite*. The emergence of working class Glaswegian authors in the 1930s, the first of whom was probably Alexander McArthur, also shifted the point of view from that of middle class writers to that of insiders not only intimately familiar with the milieu they portrayed, but also with the most localised form of Glaswegian. Social realism in fiction now began to involve dialect realism.

Thus, when Glasgow and its underprivileged inhabitants finally became a literary topos in the early decades of the 20th century, it was also "to give a voice to those people who were already too numbed by the effects of the economic crisis hitting Glasgow" (Witschi 1991:29). The first serious (though quite flawed) attempt at representing Glaswegian in fiction is made in *No Mean City* (1935). George Blake's *The Shipbuilders*, which was published in the same year, is written from a middle class outsider's perspective with the consequence that "even when the narrative point of view is with the worker, the language tends to remain that of his counterpart" (Malzahn 1990:196). The representation of Glaswegian in *The Shipbuilders* is not nearly as ambitious as that in *No Mean City*, however unconvincing the latter may be when measured by today's standards³⁰. Authors like George Blake and Edward Gaitens were among the first to express the Glasgow experience through the mode of social realism. At least in the case of *Dance of the Apprentices*, and to a limited degree in *The Shipbuilders*, social realism also involved dialect realism. If not the first serious effort to represent phonological, lexical and grammatical features characteristic of Glaswegian, *Dance of the Apprentices* is arguably the first novel to do so successfully throughout.

Glasgow writing thus "brought the issue of language back to the boil; and it was appropriate that the language forms condemned as debased by the *SND* should take their revenge by thrusting rude new shoots through what had become rather unproductive ground" (Gifford 1990a:3).

³⁰ Cf. section 8.1 below.

4.2.2 GLASWEGIAN IN FICTION: RESTRICTIONS AND FUNCTIONS

Speech realism in fiction not only depends on the plausible representation of typical linguistic features of the respective dialect, but also on the use of dialect in authentic speech situations and for authentic functions. Since dialect in general tends to pertain to the spoken mode, and since it is used essentially in informal or colloquial speech situations, it would be implausible to employ Glaswegian in a novel for a formal text in the written medium, e.g. for an extract from a school essay or a lecture script.

A scientific or technical register is not available in Glaswegian, and the semantic range of the available lexicon in terms of scientific terminology is restricted. However, credible science fiction entirely in Glaswegian is possible as long as the emphasis is not on scientific terminology. A story about life in a post-nuclear period where only dialect speakers survive and where their language variety would thus be the norm is conceivable. By the same token, historical novels employing Glaswegian cannot go back much beyond the middle of the 19th century, simply because a distinctive Glasgow dialect was not yet in existence before that time.

In order to appear authentic, the use of Glaswegian in fiction is generally restricted to oral, informal situations. However, the speech-based character of Glaswegian does not imply that it can realistically be used by all kinds of speakers in such situations, since only certain social groups speak Glaswegian. Its use by characters such as High Court judges, head teachers and other highly educated professionals would act as a signal to the reader and suggest an additional message through the very use of Glaswegian by members of the upper middle class. Typically, characters portrayed as Glaswegian speakers tend to belong to the lower social orders. One exception, however, springs to

mind. In Hugh McBain's short story 'Supper on the Wall' every dialogue passage is in Glaswegian, and that includes direct speech passages attributed to Jesus, God and Mary. Within the surrealistic setting and atmosphere in which these passages appear, though, this use of dialect is appropriate. The main character George has set up the whole scene in which they all appear, and it would be incongruous to have everybody apart from him speak Standard English. Indeed, it could be argued that the whole scene only takes place in George's mind, in which case he is most likely to imagine everybody speaking like himself.

The use of Glasgow dialect in fiction is also restricted to Glaswegian characters. To have, say, Aberdonians, Welshmen or indeed foreigners speak Glaswegian would be implausible. Of course, there are also limitations imposed by the articulacy of different characters. For instance Gerald in *Mr Alfred MA* is portrayed as rather inarticulate, and this portrayal is highlighted by some of his direct speech passages, such as "Feudcleanyurears" and "Hoosnagang" (Friel 1987:109).

Code-drifting and code-switching can be used in fiction in order to vary the pace of narration, and for dramatic or satirical effects. The standard reading audience is likely to slow down the speed of (silent) reading when faced with passages in Glaswegian. By implication, the pace of narration also becomes slower. Code-switching and indeed register-shifting is exploited for its satirical potential e.g. in *Its Colours They Are Fine* where Eddie mockingly imitates a teacher's posh standard speech, or in *How Late It Was How Late*, where Sammy parodies the speech of a DSS clerk's.

Since dialect is firmly associated with the spoken mode, it is predominantly used for direct speech passages. The best part of Glaswegian fiction is characterised by "the disjunction between realistic Glaswegian dialogue and a heavy authorial [Standard]

English in the narrative" (Morgan 1983:198), a disjunction that is as old as the use of dialect in fiction. In Glasgow fiction this dichotomy is present in virtually all works, apart from some of Kelman's novels and a few short stories written entirely in Glaswegian. For example, Hamilton's 'Moonlighting' and 'Gallus, Did You Say?', and Kelman's 'Nice to be Nice' share the communicative framework of a first person narrator telling the story. These stories are presented as renditions of the spoken mode, so that "such narrative is firmly tied to speech" (Tulloch 1985:176). Hence, the narrative is plausible even when written completely in dialect³¹.

In order to avoid the gap between dialect-speaking characters and a Standard English narrative, James Kelman "refuses to adopt a narrative voice whose cadences are in any significant way different from the demotic utterance of his characters" (Watson 1993:121). By presenting the non-standard, colloquial speech of his (central) characters as utterly normal, Kelman achieves the effect that it is the more literate, ostensibly more articulate and more formal utterances appearing in Standard English that are or should be perceived by the reader as alien. This use of Glaswegian challenges the established system of education and culture at large "which have done so much to silence or to undervalue the truths and aesthetic merits to be found in the speech rhythms and idioms of everyday usage" (Watson 1995:141).

A way of overcoming the disjunction between dialect dialogues and a standard narrative in the direction of the standard is to make a lower class, dialect speaking character undergo a process of what Morgan (1983:198) – perhaps very self-consciously – calls "deglaswegianisation". Through a process of self-education and

³¹ Tom Leonard's 'Honest' is not a fictional short story, but a meta-literary essay. It is thus an example of how Glaswegian can be used for expository prose. However, it is also confined to an informal register.

political awakening, a character moves away from his social and linguistic roots, and in the course of this process loses his native accent. Eddie in *Dance of the Apprentices* is such a character. Mat in *The Dear Green Place* also starts a process of self-education, though with literary rather than political ambitions. His speech too moves in the direction of Standard English, but ultimately Mat never completely loses touch with his social origin (partly because his career as a writer is not successful), and he remains in his native city.

The use of Glaswegian in fiction serves a variety of **functions**. It can establish a linguistic plot in the sense that its use by a certain character coincides with his social (and sometimes ultimate) failure, as in the case of Tom Curdie in *The Changeling* or Johnnie Stark in *No Mean City*. The use of Glaswegian can also help to establish a certain atmosphere. *The Changeling* for instance is set largely outside Glasgow, but the fact that Tom Curdie, his family and friends at the holiday resort on the Clyde at some stage all speak Glaswegian, creates strong associations with the city and indeed the slum district where they all hail from. Although the physical setting is a Clyde holiday resort, the mental setting is Glasgow and its slums.

The social status of different characters can be contrasted implicitly through the use of different degrees of standard and non-standard speech. In *Mr Alfred MA*, in *The Changeling* and in particular in *The Shipbuilders*, the use of Standard English and Glaswegian by different characters simply coincides with social status: in the first two novels, teachers and other professionals speak Standard English, whereas the characters from the lower social orders speak dialect. In *The Shipbuilders*, the riveter Danny Shields and his fellow workers speak Glaswegian, whereas the shipyard owner Leslie Pagan and his family are portrayed as speaking Standard English. In William

McIlvanney's *Laidlaw*, the contrast between non-standard and standard speech is more complex. There are degrees of more or less dense dialect speech which do not simply coincide with the social status of its speakers. While the police inspector Laidlaw and his colleagues are portrayed as standard speakers who occasionally use Glaswegian lexical items such as "wean", the big-time criminals speak less dense dialect than their accomplices, who in turn are the broadest dialect speakers. When talking to such accomplices, some big-time criminals like John Rhodes adapt their speech to a very localised form of Glaswegian, conceivably in an act of condescension. There is an association, of course, with social status, in that these accomplices are not nearly as well-off as their bosses. By varying the frequency and intensity of dialect use of different characters, the author signals to the reader that single members of a speech community cannot simply be identified with that speech community and its boundaries.

The degree of dialect use also functions as an indicator of psychological states of mind. In *Its Colours They Are Fine* Aleck speaks rather unmarked Glaswegian while in London, but the closer he gets back to Glasgow, the more distinctly Glaswegian his speech becomes. Eddie in *Dance of the Apprentices* on the other hand speaks less and less Glaswegian the further south he is removed as a conscientious objector.

Of course, the physical aspect of approaching or leaving behind one's native city also plays a part here, but the psycholinguistic motivation behind a character's use or non-use of Glaswegian should not be underestimated. In *The Dear Green Place* for instance Mat tends to "relapse" into Glaswegian in moments of despair, e.g. when he admits to himself that his linguistic and artistic abilities seem to be insufficient to produce a Glaswegian novel. Peter Stark, the razor King's brother in *No Mean City*, is portrayed as speaking broad Glaswegian when he rushes into a fight to help his brother at the end of

the story; all his carefully adopted and cultivated Lowland English is abandoned in this highly emotional scene.

The use of dialect in Glasgow fiction does not generally serve a comic function. The humour manifest in some of the novels and short stories is not created through the use of dialect, but through the contents of and the manner in which something funny is being said. *Its Colours They Are Fine*, for instance, integrates a number of jokes in Glaswegian told by some of the characters, but they are funny because of their contents and not (or not solely) because they are told in dialect.

Apart from serving text-specific functions, fictional dialect can also be used for manipulative purposes such as influencing the reader's feelings towards certain characters. In this way, Gerald's use of language in *Mr Alfred MA*, which is often (at first sight) incomprehensible, might provoke the reader into rejecting this character because of his ostensible inarticulateness. Sammy's use of language in *How Late It Was How Late* certainly provokes different responses in different readers. For readers who can sympathise with Sammy's plight (perhaps because they are familiar with his kind of living conditions), his use of Glaswegian lexis and grammar, together with about 4000 occurrences of "fuck", may appear as the only appropriate language. But others find his language inaccessible and incomprehensible, partly because of a lack of experience or insight into the milieu in which the novel is set, or simply because of an unwillingness to accept such language as literary.

The use of Glaswegian in fiction especially since the 1970s can be regarded as a challenge to "a prevailing middle-class norm of politeness, ease and intelligibility" (Watson 1995:152), and thus as the challenge of a marginalised variety to the dominant literary tradition.

5 THE RELATION BETWEEN SYMBOL AND SOUND

5.1 ENGLISH SPELLING

"The history of Western orthography is largely a tale of how people have squeezed as many values as possible out of the very short Roman alphabet." (Emerson 1997: 262)

5.1.1 THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF STANDARD SPELLING

When Anglo-Saxon scribes began to use English as well as Latin in writing from the 7th century, they adopted the Roman alphabet for English spelling. However, the Roman alphabet was not sufficiently differentiated to accommodate the phoneme inventory of English. In order to remedy this situation, combinations of characters such as <sc> were used in addition to single letters to represent one sound, and some characters were borrowed from the Runic alphabet. The continental practice of introducing diacritics was never followed in English¹, although it has been argued that letters were capable of being used diacritically in digraph clusters. Through an ever-growing output, the Old English writing tradition continued to thrive. The emergence and maintenance of increasingly uniform spelling conventions were facilitated through the growing production of texts in English. In the wake of the Norman Conquest of 1066 and the change of government and power it involved, Norman French spelling conventions started to influence the Old English scribal

¹ The only diacritic in English is the dot on <i>.

traditions. Partly as a result of this – there were other factors – the Runic symbols adopted in the Old English period were gradually replaced by Norman French characters² and sequences of letters, and eventually dropped out of English spelling altogether.

The effect of the Norman French influence on English writing was essentially twofold. It changed the established Old English spelling system, and it led to a slow but gradual reduction of the output of written English in general (Chambers 1957:lxviii) in favour of an increasing output of texts written in Norman French and Latin. Scragg (1974:15) argues convincingly that the erosion of the Old English spelling system in the early Middle English period was mainly due to the considerable reduction in output.

In the Middle English period, local spelling conventions evolved in different monastic scriptoria and manuscript shops across the country, but written standards of wider than local distribution developed as well³. By the end of the Middle English period, Chancery Standard⁴ had developed an almost consistent spelling system which was used not only in Westminster, but which had also spread to the provinces. The evidence of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* suggests the ultimate existence of an orthographic continuum from the English Channel to the Firth of Forth (Kniezsa 1997:32). It can thus be surmised that by the end of the 15th century, the independent house styles of different manuscript shops were beginning to give way to a nation-wide, although not entirely consistent, spelling system.

² In the case of <ƿ> yielding <y>, the process was very gradual.

³ Cf. section 2.1 above.

⁴ Cf. section 2.1 above.

Writers and printers gradually reduced the varied orthographic conventions of the 16th century. Craigie (1942:307) argues that this increasing trend to uniformity was due partly to the printers' continuous practice, and partly to the demand for the speedy production of political pamphlets at the time of the Civil War in England. However, the late Middle English period saw not only an increasing standardisation of English spelling succeeding initially divergent and independent local spelling traditions and conventions; at the time when English spelling evolved into a more or less consistent system, it was already becoming divorced from pronunciation.

Between the 15th and the late 16th centuries, a major systematic language change took place, which had far-reaching and unprecedented consequences. This so-called Great Vowel Shift affected all long vowels in such a way that of the seven Middle English long vowels, four are now represented by diphthongs (in southern English) and the other three have been raised (Bourcier 1981:192)⁵. This process of raising has been described as a chain effect with both a push-chain and a drag-chain. It started with the raising of the high mid vowels [e:,o:], which not only pushed the high vowels [i:,u:] out of place, but opened a slot for the low mid vowels [ɛ:,ɔ:] to be dragged up. By the mid 16th century, all these developments apart from the raising of [a:] were complete. Later developments, which started in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, were not completed until well into the 18th century. Short vowels, however, remained unaffected by the Great Vowel Shift. They appear to have retained their original qualities at least until the middle of the 16th century (Bourcier 1981:192).

⁵ [i:] > [aɪ], [e:,ɛ:] > [i:], [a:] > [eɪ], [u:] > [aʊ], [o:] > [u:], [ɔ:] > [əʊ].

The effects of the Great Vowel Shift on spelling were momentous. Before the Great Vowel Shift, English vowel spellings had more or less shared their continental values with Latin. While the traditional spellings of short vowels, which date back to the earliest Latin-based English orthographies, largely preserved their continental values, the values of the long vowels became characteristically "Anglic" in quality⁶. As Bourcier (1981:192) points out, "because the present-day spellings nevertheless continue the traditional ones, the Latin-based correspondences between symbol and sound, which remain virtually intact for the short vowels, have been completely disrupted for the long ones". The spelling conventions established in the Middle English period became archaic with regard to pronunciation.

A further disruption of the English spelling system was caused by the borrowing of a vast number of Latin, Greek and "exotic" words into English from the middle of the 15th century in the course of Renaissance scholarship, inventions and discoveries. The phonological patterns of these borrowings were gradually assimilated to the rules of English phonology, while their foreign spellings were largely retained, yielding spellings such as <psyche>, <llama> or <bazaar>, which do not comply with native English spelling rules.

To complicate matters further, some scribes and printers in the Early Modern English period restored classically-conscious spellings for words borrowed with Romance-achieved pronunciations in order to reflect their foreign origin. For instance, the French word *dette* was originally borrowed into Middle English in its French spelling <dette>; in order to reflect its Latin origin *debitum*, this spelling was

⁶ For instance, the grapheme <e> was used to represent [e] or [ɛ] as in Latin, but came to represent [i] or [ɪ] given the effect of the Great Vowel Shift.

changed in the 16th century to <debte> and in the 18th century to <debt>, whereas the pronunciation did not change⁷. All these developments resulted in an "increased sound-symbol dichotomy" (Scragg 1974:59). Thus, Early Modern English essentially involved two partially distinct graphological systems that were compatible but not homogenised.

Printing did not have a great influence on the emerging standard spelling from the start. In fact, initially it rather hindered the development of a uniform spelling. Different printing houses favoured different house styles, and not every master printer laid down a fixed convention for his printing house. Furthermore, printed texts tended to show more inconsistent or irregular spellings than manuscripts: it was common practice to add or omit letters at the end of a printed line in accordance with the demands of line justification.

The very concept of a consistent standardised spelling system did not emerge until the 16th century. From the turn of the 16th and 17th century onwards, however, it was indeed the printers who led the way to a standardised spelling, but neither they nor many of their successors in the 17th century achieved complete regularity (Scragg 1974:70). Between the middle of the 16th and the middle of the 17th centuries, printers universally began to accept a more or less consistent spelling system. In this sense, Craigie (1942:307) is correct when he argues that Modern English orthography is a product of the period between 1600 and 1650.

The need for a more consistent spelling system grew during the 16th century. The divergent conventions of native English, Graeco-Roman and "exotic" spellings,

⁷ Such attempts at reflecting the origin of a borrowing by a quasi-etymological spelling have in many cases resulted in the insertion of silent letters. This practice has contributed to and further increased the discrepancy between spelling and pronunciation.

coupled with the increasing discrepancies between symbol and sound which resulted from the Great Vowel Shift, led to numerous proposals for spelling reform from the middle of the 16th century⁸. However, the suggestions of the various orthoepists, which tended to focus on a more phonemic spelling, did not meet with general acceptance. From the 1660s, writers like Dryden, Swift and Defoe urged the Royal Society of London to establish an English Academy according to the model of the Académie Française. However, such an institution was never founded in England.

With the publication of Dr Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* in 1755, the idea of standardised spelling began to take hold in popular thinking. Johnson's *Dictionary* is a hallmark of the efforts to regularise English spelling in a predominantly lexeme-based system. The rise of dictionaries⁹ and popular reference books, such as Lindsay Murray's *English Grammar* (1794), had a decisive influence on the near-standardisation of spelling in the sense of internal consistency and nation-wide acceptance that was accomplished in the 18th century. The subtitle of Sheridan's *General Dictionary of the English Language* of 1780, "one main object of which is to establish a plain and permanent standard of pronunciation" became programmatic. The public norms of spelling gradually extended into private use. From the 1850s and 60s, lexicographers' projects and in particular the *New/Oxford English Dictionary*¹⁰ finally fixed English spelling conventions in a uniform and authorised system. As Crowley (1989:18) convincingly argues, "the familiar and

⁸ Cf. for instance John Hart's *An Orthographie* (1569) and Richard Mulcaster's *The First Part of the Elementarie* (1582).

⁹ The first English dictionaries to contain transcriptions were Kenrick's (1773), Sheridan's (1780) and Walker's (1791). Cf. Görlach (1988:32).

¹⁰ The *Oxford English Dictionary* was finally published 1888-1933.

recognised use of the term 'standard English' with the sense of an authorised, delineated and uniform literary form of the language is a product of the linguistic problems and labours of the 1850s and 60s".

However, the process of standardising English spelling and the ideologies surrounding standard (and non-standard) spelling have to be distinguished. Dictionaries were not only produced as part of the drive towards standardisation, but they effectively contributed to the "principle of linguistic politeness" (Blake 1996:252) through their emphasis on proper spelling and pronunciation. Johnson himself maintained that the most elegant speakers are those who "deviate least from the written words"¹¹. However, as early as 1569 Hart had already emphasised in his *Orthographie* that the speech of the "learned and literate" is the "best and most perfite English"¹². John Jones in his *Practical Phonography* of 1701 also recommended that one should speak "according to the sound of the printed letters"¹³. The spelling of a word was thus considered the best guide to its pronunciation.

In the 18th century, a movement focusing on the creation of a non-localised, supra-regional accent of English, or on a "set of standard pronunciation features" (Mugglestone 1995:5), gained ground especially among elocutionists. This non-localised accent was promoted as being superior to all other accents of English because it was that spoken by the best-educated members of the metropolitan social élite. This accent was credited with attributes like beauty, elegance, and clarity, which were considered to be inherent in the accent. Of course, such ostensibly

¹¹ Quoted from Williams (1961:244).

¹² Quoted from Dobson (1955:28).

¹³ Quoted from Blake (1996:238).

inherent qualities are a reflection of the social, and hence extra-linguistic, characteristics attributed to the speakers of the accent. Elocutionists like Thomas Sheridan and other promoters of "elegant speech" argued that when a person had acquired this superior accent, his social and local origins would not be betrayed any more in his speech, and he would thus become part of the educated social élite who naturally spoke it. In this way, the standard accent was promoted as an instrument of egalitarianism. However, members of the lower classes of society had no access to the kind of education required for the acquisition of this class accent. As a result, the very accent promoted as a means of egalitarianism became an instrument of social divide and class-consciousness and indeed "one of the most potent social symbols in existence" (Mugglestone 1995:47). A person's accent became a mark of their social status and education; in turn, external symbols such as language, education and manners now came to determine the status of every member of society.

The notion of a standard accent implied that of non-standard accents. Hence, an ideology of binary absolutes began to emerge: the non-localised standard accent was associated with evaluative patterns including elegance of speech, knowledge, truth, and propriety, whereas localised accents came to be regarded as provincial, vulgar, uneducated and unrefined. The possession of the non-localised accent, which reflected the social superiority of its speaker, came to be regarded as a hallmark of the "best" speakers. Moreover, because of "the implicit assumption that the non-localised norms of the written language were, in themselves, to be understood as representative of [the] non-localised accent" (Mugglestone 1995:211), speakers of the prestigious accent were in turn identified as "literate speakers". These literate speakers evinced the assumed correlation between accent and spelling, even though

the association between written Standard English and the spoken standard is a matter of education, habit and prejudice, rather than of any really close correspondence (Milton 1997:204). Notions of "literate speech" began to influence common ideas about correct speech. It was then concluded that only uneducated speakers' accents do not correlate to the standard written language; this is because their speech exhibits syllabic reduction, cliticised auxiliaries and negative particles, multiple negation and other colloquial forms. Despite the fact that these assumptions were, of course, made entirely irrespective of linguistic reality, they clearly show the preconceptions associated with "literate speech", "standard accent" and superior social status on the one hand and colloquial and provincial speech, ignorance and low social status on the other. They also support the argument put forward by Upward & McArthur (1992:970) that English spelling became fixed by social consensus and not through the recommendations of an institution like an academy. The corollary of the promotion of a non-localised accent and of standard spelling was the devaluation of regional and social accents as well as the use of non-standard varieties of English in writing, a process which was underway by the end of the 18th century.

Since standard spelling was assumed to be a representation in writing of the non-localised accent spoken by the social élite, spelling mistakes came to be regarded as a social solecism. The corresponding idea that what looked right must also sound right found its way into the representation of speech in literature. Authors traded on the assumption that the best speakers speak the language exactly as it is represented by standard spelling, and portrayed ignorant or provincial characters through non-

standard spellings in the direct speech passages attributed to them¹⁴. The representation of dialect in fiction by non-standard spellings also had extralinguistic connotations. Non-standard spellings were used as a device to indicate awkwardness and provinciality without the need to give a realistic or even plausible representation of the dialect in question. Of course, the already existing stereotypes and preconceptions about the inter-relation between accent, social status and spelling were encoded by authors who employed re-spellings to represent local accents, in particular in the normative period (between the middle of the 19th and the middle of the 20th centuries) when all writing was supposed to be a transcription of the spoken standard.

The rise of imperialism in the 18th and 19th centuries also had profound linguistic implications: language came increasingly to be seen as a component of national identity (Crowley 1991:123), and some even saw the national character reflected in the national language¹⁵. Thus, departures from the standard variety were considered aberrations or deformations¹⁶, and there was a concern that the corruption of the national language might lead to the corruption of the national mind.

¹⁴ However, in authors like Fielding and Dickens, there is a scale corresponding with good-bad characters, along a cline from literary speech (for instance metered, figurative, learned, rhetorical) to colloquial personal speech (regional accent, dialect, illiteracy, inarticulacy, speech defects).

¹⁵ Cf. H. Alford 1870, quoted from Crowley (1991:172).

¹⁶ Cf. F. Graham 1969, quoted from Crowley (1991:161).

5.1.2 STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

The relationship between the sounds of English and their graphological representation as letters is purely conventional. At the same time, it is not fixed in such a way that each sound is represented by a different character or symbol. Instead of being a representation of the pronunciation of one particular variety of English, English orthography can accommodate the pronunciation of a whole spectrum of varieties, including both dialects and idiolects. As Macaulay (1991a:281) points out, the spelling system works equally well for rhotic and non-rhotic, vowel-shifted and non-vowel shifted varieties, or as Trudgill (1983:195) puts it, English spelling is sufficiently distinct from pronunciation not to favour one accent over any other.

Because of the lack of a consistent relationship between phonemes and graphemes, English orthography has often been claimed to be messy, inconsistent and erratic. This criticism is based on the assumption that in an ideal relationship between sounds and spelling, letters indicate particular sounds and sounds imply or predict specific letters¹⁷. The alphabetical principle demands a consistent one-to-one relationship between phoneme and grapheme in which every sound is represented by one particular symbol. Pulgram advocates the alphabetical principle for English spelling because, as he argues (1951:19), then the function and properties of both phoneme and grapheme would be exactly equivalent. McClure (1980b:25), Pike (1947:208) and Allerton (1982:57) too argue in favour of the phonemic principle, i.e. for a one-

¹⁷ This notion stems from the invention of alphabetic literacy and in particular from Roman grammarians of the 4th to the 6th centuries, among them Donatus, who advocated a tripartite system in which each letter has a name (*nomen*), an appearance (*figura*) and a power or sound (*potestas*) (Venezky 1970:16).

to-one correspondence between grapheme and phoneme. However, as Craigie (1942:332) points out very appropriately, the axiom that phonemic spelling must necessarily be the most suitable for any language regardless of its character or history is not self-evident¹⁸.

The property according to which one symbol represents only one specific sound and no others, and one sound is always represented by one symbol, is called the principle of biuniqueness. Phoneme-grapheme correspondences in English usually fall short of biuniqueness for two reasons: the Roman alphabet has 26 letters with which to accommodate over 40 different phonemes; and secondly, the large-scale borrowings into English since the Renaissance have not been fully assimilated into English orthography, and the phonological results of the various sound changes which have affected English vowels are not represented in modern spelling. However, English orthography is characterised by the consistent spelling of a given morpheme despite allomorphy¹⁹. These factors, as well as some minor features such as silent letters like in <thumb> or <lamb> and letter values carried over from other languages such as the <c> for the voiceless affricate in <cello>, have the combined effect that English spelling is not purely phonemic. In fact, since the consistent spelling of a given morpheme entails that words like *photograph* and *photographer* have the same spelling despite allomorphy, English orthography can

¹⁸ French and Gaelic for instance have non-phonemic but more grammatically based spelling systems in the sense that features such as number and gender are consistently represented in the orthography, whether or not the pronunciation changes accordingly. The spelling systems of languages such as Spanish, Serbo-Croat and Finnish on the other hand come much closer to the alphabetical principle than English orthography.

¹⁹ For instance, the plural -s can be pronounced as [s], [z] or [ɪz], depending on the preceding phoneme; but it is invariantly spelled <-s> (or <-es>), as e.g. in <cats> [kats], <boys> [bɔɪz], and <peaches> [pitʃɪz].

be characterised as a lexical rather than a phonemic spelling system. Thus, Venezky (1970:11) is correct when he argues that English orthography "is not merely a letter-to-sound system riddled with imperfections, but instead, a more complex and more regular relationship wherein phoneme and morpheme share leading roles". To the extent to which English orthography is phonological at all, it can be characterised as morphophonemic. The base forms of words tend to be spelled phonemically, as e.g. in <sane> /sen/, whereas the spelling of compounds and derivatives such as <sanity> /sanɪti/ is generally morphemic.

Emerson (1997:264) claims that at least the Old English and Norman French core vocabulary, which native speakers learn as children, is so well known that the spellings of those words are mere visual icons. He adds that the Graeco-Latin words introduced from the Early Middle English period are probably learned first through reading rather than from the spoken language. Therefore, although their pronunciation may not be deduced unambiguously from their spelling, these words appear as familiar mental images or "wortgestalts" to the reader acquainted with them through the written language in the first place. In this sense, English orthography is also partly logographic (Halliday 1989:2): words tend to be perceived by the (experienced) reader as lexical units rather than as sequences of letters which have to be deciphered one by one.

There is in fact no obvious need for a phonemic spelling system which indicates the pronunciation of every word consistently: in the translation process from symbol to sound, or spelling to pronunciation, words are in a way scanned, i.e. either whole words or at least sequences of letters are perceived as units. Constellations of letters form mental images which can be imprinted on the mind because they are read as

whole entities regardless of the letter sequence (Upward & McArthur 1992:972). Haugen (1980:274) too points out that "we read by word images, and all that is needed is a stable image that will evoke the idea it is intending to give". The consistent spelling of morphemes gives exactly this graphic stability to English spelling. Hughes's (1996:133) observation that "if alphabetic writing were not fundamentally designed to represent phonemes, but rather was an encoding of concepts which has the potential to be read aloud, then the fact that it is a poor reflection of phonemes would be neither surprising nor worrying" is very accurate. The conventional spelling system refers directly to the meaning of a word and not usually via the corresponding pronunciation. As Vachek (1987:111) observes, the component elements of written language "very strongly tend to constitute not signs of signs, but primary signs of extralinguistic reality". Silent speed reading, which is characteristic of functional literacy, is a case in point. The "great paradox of alphabetical writing" (Emerson 1997:260) is that "it strives to represent sounds and succeeds only in representing possibilities". However, this is not a weakness, but a very effective way of accommodating all spoken varieties of English in one spelling system.

5.2 SCOTS SPELLING

5.2.1 HISTORICAL OUTLINE

The Older Scots spelling system was characterised by a particular selection of notational forms that developed in the direct geographical vicinity, and by the retention of features which had dropped out of use in other spelling traditions. Four layers of graphemes can be discerned²⁰. Firstly, there were spelling forms that had been preserved from Old English. Secondly, Older Scots shared some features with all Middle English writings, including graphemes such as <th> which had been re-introduced by Norman scribes. Thirdly, special northern notational forms occurred; Older Scots shared some of these with most northern English spelling traditions. And fourthly, some forms were either Scots developments, as for instance the sequence <quh->, or forms representing earlier and more general northern spellings which had disappeared from the neighbouring northern Middle English spelling traditions. It can be inferred from this evidence that the Older Scots spelling system was unique not because it had invented its own exclusive notational forms, but because of the particular combination of features shared with northern English spelling traditions, alongside retained forms which had either dropped out in other writing traditions or which had been developed out of marginal ones in Scots (Kniezsa 1998:35). Moreover, it needs to be borne very clearly in mind that Scots spelling conventions did not develop independently of English ones. On the contrary, virtually all Scots

²⁰ In much of the following, I am drawing on Kniezsa (1997).

spelling features considered as diagnostic were not only shared with northern Middle English, but can in fact be found in English earlier than in Scots.

The earliest extant document that contains writing in Scots is the *Scone Lease* (1350), a Latin text with glosses in Scots that refer to the names of relevant landmarks. The distinctive Older Scots spelling features outlined above evolved from the late 14th century, and by the second half of the 15th century Older Scots spelling conventions were fully developed (Kniezsa 1997:44). The influence exercised by English spelling forms on Older Scots spelling in this early period has to be seen in the same context in which spelling conventions from neighbouring traditions were selectively adopted both in northern England and in Lowland Scotland, giving rise to various regional spelling traditions.

The influence of southern English spelling forms on Scots conventions began to make itself felt from the 16th century. However, spelling both north and south of the border was still very variable before the Union of the Crowns in 1603. Neither spelling tradition had developed an internal consistency. In the case of Scots, the spellings of the large number of borrowings mainly from French and Latin had not been assimilated with the established Older Scots spelling traditions, and the phonological changes caused by the Great Vowel Shift in its Scots manifestations were not reflected in the spelling either (Stirling 1994:90). In the course of the 17th century, Scots increasingly adopted southern English spelling forms. While remaining tolerant of spelling variations, Scots spelling from the end of the 17th century can be characterised as a system with co-existing Scots and English forms in which the latter increasingly begin to dominate. Following Anglicisation, Scots spelling was in the main an adaptation of English orthography to represent Scots

(Aitken 1992:896), even though spelling conventions were modified to varying degrees by different writers. By the 18th century, writers had largely adopted the Standard English spelling system and its rules. As a result, Scots spelling with its mixture of English and Scots features looked like a modified or – in the cultural context of the time – a debased form of English spelling.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, written Scots has had very variable spelling forms. Either writers employ their local dialect and attempt a more or less idiosyncratic or phonemic representation of this local variety, drawing on the shibboleths and stereotypes associated with their region and/or creating nonce spellings; or they continue the practice established in the 18th century of using an English-based system which retains a few Older Scots spelling conventions and is characterised by the extensive use of apostrophes to represent the absence of sounds in Scots that are present in Standard English. Since the 1920s, some writers have also produced texts in Lallans. Orthographic features which can be expected in most Modern Scots texts include the use of apostrophes, an inconsistency of stressed vowel spellings and a general preference for Standard English spellings over traditional Scots forms. In order to achieve a consensual spelling, various proposals for a reform of Scots spelling have been put forward with the aim of standardising Modern Scots spelling. In the following section, the main sets of recommendations will be discussed.

5.2.2 STANDARDISING SCOTS SPELLING

The first serious attempt at prescribing a set of rules for Scots spelling was made at a meeting of the Makars Club in Edinburgh in 1947. These proposals, drawn up by poets of the so-called Scots Renaissance, were published as "The Scots Style Sheet". The spelling conventions suggested deal only with the representation of stressed vowels and of [χ] and [ç]. A spelling system strictly according to the phonemic principle is obviously not intended, since the Style Sheet tolerates at least four digraphs for the representation of /e/, namely <ae, ei, ay, aCe>, and the five symbols <e, ee, ei, ie, i> for the representation of /i/. Silent letters such as the digraph <gh> are to be dropped, thus yielding spellings such as <throu> (*through*). However, silent letters have in effect also been produced through syllable-final consonant-loss, which is not catered for by any proposed deletions. The vowel [ɔ(:)] as produced by l-vocalisation is to be represented by the digraph spelling <aa>. Proposals for the spelling of inflectional suffixes include <-an> for the present participle, <-in> for the gerund, and <-it, -t, -ed> for the simple past and past participle. With regard to lexical spellings, <ane> is prescribed instead of *yin*, <to> is to be used before infinitives and <til> before nouns, and the negative particle <-na> is to be affixed to verbs, while <nae> is to be used before nouns and <no> in all other cases. The Style Sheet prescriptions have been praised by Allan (1995:68), in an apparent act of barrel-scraping, for the proposal to omit apostrophes: many of the commonly apostrophised words in Scots never had the letters which the apostrophe suggests have been dropped, and additionally, apostrophes commonly mark the absence of some conventions of Standard English. However, such praise as Allan's does not take

account of the fact that consonant cluster reductions through v-deletion, l-vocalisation or syllable-final consonant-loss are to be disregarded in the new spelling system. In effect this means that although these phenomena took place in Scots before it was fixed in writing, they are still simply to be spelled according to English spelling conventions. Such Scots phonological phenomena, accordingly, are left to go without indication in Scots spelling – nothing is proposed, neither the use of apostrophes nor the innovation of some other signal. The single possible exception is the digraph spelling <aa>, but this proposal has unconvincingly been criticised for the apparent resemblance of the second <a> to a disguised apostrophe (Allan 1995:68). On the whole, the Style Sheet proposals are notably inconsistent because of the spelling variations tolerated, and not detailed enough, since they only concern a selection of Scots vowels. Another point of criticism centres on the ambiguity of whether the proposals apply to words shared by Scots and English, or exclusively to Scots lexical items.

The next major set of rules for the standardisation of written Scots was proposed by David Purves, the President of the Lallans Society, in separate versions of 1975 and 1979. He demands a more consistent spelling for Scots than that proposed by the Style Sheet, and argues that the inconsistencies of Scots spelling are a result of the indiscriminate borrowing of English spelling rules, which were inconsistent in themselves: "the English spelling system does not suit the English language, let alone Scots" (1975:27). This argument is misleading in that fails to take account of the fact that Scots spelling did not develop independently of English spelling, and that Scots too has borrowed on a large scale from Latin and French without assimilating foreign spellings. Scots was also subject to the effects of the Great Vowel Shift, but did not

revise its own spelling conventions accordingly.

Purves suggests taking the Middle Scots makars' writings as a precedent and reintroducing forms like <thaim>, <wes>, <war> and <eftir> into Modern Scots spelling. Furthermore, he opines that spelling should be reconciled with "reasonable phoneticity" (Purves 1975:26), which means that the pronunciation of every Scots word should be deducible from its spelling. However, this would imply at least a phonemic (if not indeed phonetic) spelling system, which in turn cannot be fully reconciled with the partly lexical spelling of Middle Scots. Also, Purves demands that the familiar appearance of written Scots be preserved (1979:62) by employing a number of traditional spelling precedents for vowels. He does not specify, however, which precedents he wishes to be preserved – those used by the makars, by fictional texts like *Johnny Gibb* or *The Broons*, by Robert Burns or others. Purves recognises the fact that a standard written form of Scots intended for nationwide adoption should not be created on the basis of one particular local dialect. Thus, in cases where northern and southern dialects use different forms for the same word, he suggests, with a self-defeating excess of impartiality from anyone aiming at standardisation, that both forms be regarded as standard forms (1979:62).

In terms of the representation of specific phonemes, Purves suggests <aw> rather than <aa> as an improvement of the Style Sheet proposals to spell the phoneme /ɔ/ resulting from l-vocalisation, in order to avoid any association with a disguised apostrophe. The use of characteristic English digraphs such as <ee> and <oo> is to be avoided or at least minimised, and the ostensibly foreign digraph <ea> is to be abolished altogether. In order to avoid the creation of a number of homographs, Purves proposes five different symbols to replace <ea>, namely <ae, ai, e, ei, ie>. He

also suggests the representation of the phonemes /e/, /i/, /ɔ/ and /u/ by a number of digraphs each, in order to retain some homophones as heterographs. Of course, the demands of the phonemic principle have to be abandoned in the face of such variable spellings for a given phoneme.

With regard to grammar, Purves's repeated proposal to use the spelling <-an> as the present participle suffix is in line with that of the Style Sheet, but for the past participle suffix he suggests the additional variation <-d>. He argues that the appropriate suffix should be chosen "according to euphony" (1979:70). However, the reader or speaker will unconsciously use the appropriate allophone in any event.

Purves's proposals have to be rejected for various reasons. First and foremost, it is impossible to accommodate his three main demands (that is, the re-introduction of obsolete Middle Scots spellings, "reasonable phoneticity", and the preservation of the "familiar appearance" of written Scots) in a single system. His proposals are in themselves inconsistent in that he allows up to five symbols to replace one "foreign" one, which entails that the pronunciation of a word cannot simply be deduced from its spelling. Also, Purves proceeds from the claim that the existing Scots spelling conventions are inadequate because they are based on English orthography, a system that is itself inadequate to its task. But this claim still remains to be verified. Finally, as Allan (1995:69) correctly points out, the re-introduction of some of the makars' spelling conventions would create new ambiguities rather than solve old ones. What has to be praised about Purves's proposals is that they are intended to be valid both for exclusively Scots words and for words shared with English. Otherwise, two spelling conventions would have to operate in one system.

One of the major advocates of radical spelling reform is J.D. McClure. His

demands for a reform are based on the following arguments: Scots spelling is characterised by "patent etymological unsoundness" (1985a:205); its written form bears little resemblance to the phonological peculiarities of spoken Scots; and written Scots has the appearance of distorted written English rather than that of a language in its own right. Accordingly, McClure demands that a reformed Scots spelling be phonemic, etymologically correct and distinct from English.

The demand for a phonemic orthography implies that Scots spelling should be based on the phonological characteristics of spoken Scots. McClure (1980a:26-27) accordingly proceeds from the stressed vowel and diphthong phonemes of Scots and allocates a particular character or combination of characters of the Roman alphabet to each of them. In this way, both the one-to-one relationship between phoneme and grapheme and the principle of biuniqueness are observed. However, because of the high number of Scots vowel phonemes McClure allows for a flexible application of the alphabetic principle²¹.

Finally, he argues that a spelling system which is to be adopted nation-wide should also accommodate the different varieties of Scots wherever possible (1979a:98). It is difficult to see, though, how phonemic and lexical differences between two or more accents of Scots could be accommodated in one spelling system without giving priority to one particular accent.

The new spelling rules are proposed both for exclusively Scots words and for words shared with English. In this way, McClure argues, written Scots will have the appearance of a distinct language. McClure, in line with Purves, demands the

²¹ For instance, the reflex of Early Scots unrounded [a:] is to be represented by the digraph <ae>, whereas the reflex of the Early Scots diphthong [aɪ] is to be spelled <ai>, although in Modern Scots both have merged in [e:].

avoidance of spelling conventions unique to, or at least characteristic of, English, such as the digraphs <ee> and <oo>. He argues (1979a:97) that to use such symbols means to undervalue the status of Scots as a language, whereas a distinct spelling system enhances the prestige of Scots as a language in its own right. The force of this argument is exceedingly hard to see. The definition of distinct as being "unlike English" (1979a:97) is based on the implicit assumption that Scots is a language because it is not English, and not that it is a language because of its own inherent characteristics. Even if it were, this definition says more about what Scots is not than about its positive characteristics. McClure's preoccupation with the appearance rather than the substance of written Scots, and with its prestige rather than its actual qualities, is symptomatic of the effort to procure an independent status for Scots not because it is in fact independent, but because it should be considered to be so.

It is unfortunate that McClure's proposals for the representation of stressed vowel phonemes are inevitably based on the "Anglic" rather than the "Continental" value of vowels²²; as a result, they are not as distinct from English as from other languages, and not as "unlike English" as might have been desired.

In 1976, the Scots Language Society (SLS) founded a language planning committee to recommend a reform of Scots spelling conventions. Its main thrust was to base the new system on the spelling traditions of Middle Scots, which were to be revived and expanded for that purpose. In this way, the process of standardising Scots, which came to a standstill before codification was accomplished, was to be renewed as a deliberate language policy for Modern Scots. The implicit aim was thus to undo the process of re-standardisation in the direction of English, which had taken

²² Cf. section 5.1.1, pp. 133-134 above.

place from the 16th or 17th century.

In 1985, the SLS published a list of spelling recommendations which revealingly relate specifically to Scots words not found in English, to Scots cognates of English words, and to words with a distinctive Scots pronunciation (Scots Language Society 1985:18). However, the spelling of words shared with English is to be left unaltered if the pronunciation can be deduced unambiguously from the English spelling. Now, apart from the fact that English orthography does not as a rule tend to suggest a certain pronunciation unambiguously, the recommendations say nothing about the vast number of English words whose spelling is definitely not phonemic. Moreover, to retain the English spelling of shared words while prescribing changes to exclusively Scots words involves operating with two conventions in one system. This would, as Allan (1995:70) correctly points out, be unacceptable to the general public. The SLS's recommendations, like earlier ones, do not adhere to the alphabetic principle. For instance, the phoneme /ɔ/ is represented by <a, au, aw>, /e/ by <ae, ai, e>, /i/ by <ee, ei, ie>, /ʌ/ by <y, yC, e, ey> and /u/ by <uCe, ou>²³. Syllable-final consonant-loss in the cases of <n(d)> and <c(t)> is also to be represented. It is also suggested that <ti> for *to* is to vary as <til> before vowels and /h/, and that it takes the stressed form <tae>. However, in a non-phonemic system there is no obvious need for two different spellings for the stressed and unstressed forms of the same lexeme.

In the past few years, the debate about a standard for Scots and a reform of Scots spelling has been renewed. Angus Stirling (1994:89) argues that if Scots is to

²³ It has to be pointed out in this context that to retain the spelling <ou> in words shared with English, as e.g. in <blouse>, while using the same digraph for Scots words to represent /u/, e.g. in <house>, is likely to cause confusion.

function as a national language, it requires a fully regulated spelling system. The new spelling system should be both economical and phonologically accurate. Stirling gives three reasons for designing a reformed Scots orthography based on the alphabetical principle of phonemic spelling and biuniqueness: a phonemic spelling system will relate to the sound system of Scots; it will be closely related to the historical sound-symbol relationship in earlier stages of the language²⁴, and it can be easily associated with any given dialect by adjusting the phonemic system to indicate local pronunciations. It must be pointed out, though, that a phonemic spelling system is not designed to accommodate realisational differences between accents, and that the representation of sub-phonemic characteristics by means of a phonemic spelling system is extremely limited.

Stirling follows these considerations with suggestions for the consistent phonemic spelling of historical long vowels, short vowels and consonants. Stirling's proposals deserve to be praised because they include a representation of all phonemes of Scots, including consonants. Like McClure (1980a) he proceeds from sound to symbol, thus giving priority to phonology over spelling precedents. Also, he moves away from both English and Middle Scots spelling conventions by introducing entirely new symbols such as <ä>, <ö>, <ii> and <iw> to represent Scots vowels. He does not propose different representations for stressed and unstressed vowel phonemes. However, even though there is no need for such differentiation in a morpho-phonemic system, this representation is inconsistent in the kind of purely phonemic spelling system apparently demanded by Stirling. Also, an intimate knowledge of Scots historical phonology seems to be a precondition for employing Stirling's

²⁴ That is, to those stages from before the Great Vowel Shift and its effects in Scotland.

spelling rules; it is unclear, though, how an author intending to adopt these rules is to know which vowels are historically long and which are short.

The most comprehensive set of proposals for Scots spelling reform was put forward by Alasdair Allan in 1995. His recommendations are both the focus and the means of his article, since this is written in Scots according to the spelling rules suggested in it. Allan's argument for a reform of Scots spelling is based on his observation that the lack of a standard written Scots seems to be a deterrent rather than an opportunity for Scots writers – a claim which remains unsupported by evidence and which, moreover, can be contradicted by citing the writings of Tom Leonard, Alex Hamilton, James Kelman and others. Their representation of their variety of Scots has certainly thrived despite (or perhaps because of) the non-existence of a standard system of representation.

Allan rejects the use of English spelling conventions; on the one hand he maintains that "[a]e thing we canna allou oursels dae is devise a new orthographie as gyte as the Inglish ane" (1995:66) without substantiating this contention, and on the other hand he claims that the adoption of English orthographic rules is not the obvious solution for foreign learners and schoolchildren who have not yet encountered English. While the second argument might hold true, it relates to a very small and non-general target group and is thus implausible: it is entirely unconvincing to demand a spelling reform for the sake of foreign learners and (briefly) illiterate school children. Moreover, foreign learners are unlikely to encounter Scots before the world language English. As Macafee (1985:7) points out correctly, "literacy in Scots is an extension of literacy in English".

Instead of devising a new orthography by preceding from possible symbols for

different phonemes, Allan (1995:66) proposes to take the phonemes of Scots as a basis and build a system around them with little or no attention to already existing conventions. He therefore starts by identifying the sounds of Scots and listing symbols to represent them. This procedure, although rational and appropriate, is not quite as revolutionary as Allan appears to think, since both McClure (1980a) and Stirling (1994) have already adopted this method.

A genuinely unprecedented suggestion, however, is Allan's demand for a two-stage reform. In the first stage, only moderate changes to the existing spelling conventions should be introduced until some recognition for Scots as a language has been gained. In the second stage, more radical steps, and that means steps away from English conventions (1995:75), are to be taken²⁵. He adds that while the first generation of English-schooled adults might be uneasy about new spellings of shared words, these reforms sufficiently simplify English spelling to be accepted by people who have Scots as their first medium of literacy. Here the question arises as to why these people should appreciate the simplification of a system they are not supposed to be familiar with in the first place. Moreover, the idea of a two-stage reform is based on the patronising contention that "[t]he public isna reddie yet ti deal wi spellin at is awthegither logical" (1995:83) – a claim which is not founded on any evidence. Even if it were correct, the question remains whether they ever would be.

In terms of concrete proposals, Allan suggests adopting and developing an already existing model for spelling Scots which has been used since the Middle Scots period

²⁵ For instance, in the first stage of reform one rule is that <f, k, s, z, l> regularly double in word-final position unless they follow a diphthong or <y>, and with the exceptions of <mak>, <tak>, <shak> etc.; in the second stage only <s, z> double word-finally; this gives rise to spellings like <houss> and <mouss>, whereas *full* would then be spelled <ful>.

and which is based on the Central Scots dialects. Allan ventures to make "the unsupportit statement at it is at least aesier for a S[outhern] and a N[orthern] speiker ti understaun a C[entral] speiker nor it is for thaim ti unnerstaun ither" (1995:72). But there is, of course, ample evidence to support this statement, since in any dialect continuum, a variety A is closer to B than to C, and C is also closer to B than to A. In this case, the Central Scots dialects are closer to both the Border and North East dialects than these are to each other.

Allan suggests disregarding realisational variations between Scots dialects and (in cases of phonemic or lexical differences) finding a small number of core words for different northern and southern forms which could have a standard spelling despite different pronunciations (1995:73). As a principle, the spelling reformer would have to observe to what degree users of a variant sound are aware of the existence of a norm for the vowel in question (presumably from the written Scots they are familiar with). But it remains obscure how this principle is to be put into practice, in particular since the written Scots most people are familiar with is probably that used in *The Broons* and *Oor Wullie*, which is hardly phonemic, and which probably does not coincide with Allan's expectations.

In Allan's system, apostrophes are only used morphemically to distinguish such cases as <greed> and <gree'd>. Stressed vowels in loanwords are to be represented by a digraph according to the new rules, whereas unstressed vowels are to be spelled as in the source language; there is thus a difference between the spellings <graimar> and <grammaital>. Although this proposal is admittedly logical and consistent with

the phonemic principle, it has very complex implications²⁶.

Allan's system does not strictly adhere to the alphabetic principle. He allows spelling variations (although according to fixed rules) e.g. for /a/ as <a, au, aw>, for /e/ as <ay, ae, ai, aCe, ae>, for /i/ as <ee, ie>, for /u/ as <uCe, ew, ue, ou>, for /ae/ as <iCe, y> and [ʌɪ] as <ey, yCe, eyCe>. With regard to silent letters, Allan demands sorting out anomalies, and he suggests <ar> (*are*) and <program>. The digraph <gh> is to be deleted where it is silent, thus yielding spellings like <tho> or <throu>. As a simplification of English spelling rules Allan suggests dropping <h> where it has been inserted against etymological evidence as e.g. in *ghost* or *ghoul*.

Allan does not propose a consistent representation of syllable-final consonant-loss. Although loss of [d] after [l] is a widespread phenomenon, Allan does not want to codify spellings like <caul>, <aul> or <faul>. However, he does not give any rational grounds for this. The graph <g> in words like *length* and *strength* is to be dropped, though, because the Scots pronunciation is [lenθ] rather than [lenθ].

Allan's proposals have the advantage of being extremely comprehensive in the sense that the representation of every phoneme is discussed, the problem of phonemic and lexical differences between different dialects is addressed (1995:73), and the reasons for allocating certain symbols to certain sounds are clearly stated. However, the object and the target audience for the proposed spelling reform are both uncertain, and some of the reasons Allan gives for the need for reform are not convincing, as for instance his contention that English orthography is chaotic and hence unsuitable to be adopted for Scots. Also, it is not clear why he proceeds from

²⁶ One of the difficulties would be the spelling of loanwords from languages like Greek that do not use the Roman alphabet. Furthermore, it requires a sound knowledge of the original spelling of borrowings in their source language.

sounds to symbols when he is in fact adopting and developing a spelling system already in existence, and when he tolerates different spellings for the same phoneme²⁷. Furthermore, while seeking to get rid of a number of silent letters, Allan is reluctant to represent syllable-final consonant-loss in the spelling – although the graphemes concerned here are truly silent. In the end and unfortunately, his motivation seems essentially emotional (1995:77). Finally, Allan's proposals are unlikely to be accepted because the implementation of the second stage of the reform depends on the recognition of Scots as a language.

I would not argue for a radical reform of Modern Scots spelling. First and foremost, the target audience of all such efforts remains to me obscure and ill-defined. Certainly it cannot only comprise foreign learners and schoolchildren who are not literate in English; at least it would additionally have to include Scots speakers with a certain level of functional literacy, because they are most likely to produce texts in Scots. However, since they presumably are already literate in Standard English and familiar with its spelling rules, they are unlikely to appreciate having to learn a new system. Secondly, the demand for a standard spelling seems to be based on the argument that, without it, Scots will not be considered a language in its own right. While this might well be the case, the argument is misleading in that it suggests that as soon as a standard spelling is in place, recognition will (or at least should) speedily follow. However, a standard spelling, while possibly an indispensable, is certainly not a sufficient, condition for such recognition. McClure's remarks about the "appearance" of written Scots are a case in point. Furthermore, the

²⁷ There might be a case for different spellings of a phoneme in word-initial, -medial or -final position, but variants for a phoneme in one position are motivated by historical precedents and hence part of the illogical system Allan wants to reform.

distinctness and status of Scots cannot convincingly be defined in terms of its un-Englishness without positive criteria. Finally, I do not accept the contention that English orthography is unsuitable as a model because of its ostensibly chaotic rules. The fact is that it is not purely phonemic, but whether or not this is a disadvantage is arguable. Since the existing regularities are not only in the phonological, but also in the morphological patterns, "a phonemic alphabet, while presumably correcting the phonological deviations, creates even greater irregularities in the other patterning systems" (Venezky 1970:123). More importantly still, it is an *a priori* assumption that a practical orthography should be based on the principle of a one-to-one relationship between sound and symbol. As Venezky (1970:120) very pointedly states, the idea that "*homo sapiens* is somehow more at ease with a one-letter-one-sound system has often been assumed, but no evidence has ever been produced to establish this limitation on man's mental capacities". The alphabetic principle itself cannot be wholeheartedly embraced since it entails the codification of one particular variety at a certain period of time. It is subject to constant revision both synchronically and diachronically. I would follow A.J. Aitken who proposes to let Scots and its spelling develop naturally without language policy interventions. If and when Scots is recognised as a language, a demand for a standardised orthography is likely to be made, but the standard spelling itself will not give Scots credence as a language in its own right, in particular not on the basis of being unlike English and nothing else.

5.3 NON-STANDARD SPELLING

"Devising a spelling which represents dialect forms ... acts as a reminder that language is shaped in fundamental ways by region and class and thus challenges ideas that language and tradition are stable, and that there is a common national culture and shared experience." (Milton 1997:203)

5.3.1 AIMS, LIMITS, AND METHODS

Non-standard spelling is the principal means of representing non-standard speech in writing. However, non-standard spellings not only indicate a certain pronunciation, but their connotative values "establish a highly effective sub-text" (Mugglestone 1995:213) in that they serve as a means of characterising the fictional non-standard speakers. Non-standard spellings are a visual sign or signal to the reader about the social status of the dialect-speaking characters. Rather than reproducing a character's speech, the representation of stereotypes based on only a few features is sufficient to identify the character's background. The reader supplies from his own experience the details at which the author only hints. In fact, re-spellings have a potential for obscurity, in particular when non-dialect speakers are involved. They can acquire a kind of symbolic function where the supposed unintelligibility of a speaker is signalled by exaggerated re-spellings. A case in point is, for instance, Gerald's cryptic utterance "Nut hom" in *Mr Alfred MA* (Friel 1987:150)²⁸; this expression adds force to the message of the novel about the breakdown of communication. Within the framework of the established conventions of standard spelling, deviations from the standard spelling indicate that the writer

²⁸ Cf. section 8.5.2 below.

regards a certain pronunciation as non-standard. Whether the non-standard spelling leads to recognition on the part of the reader, not only of the exact pronunciation indicated, but also of the connotations the author intended to convey, is a different matter (Chapman 1984:33). Another function of non-standard spelling, in particular but not exclusively with regard to Glasgow fiction (and poetry), is the subversion both of Standard English, of Lallans²⁹, and of efforts to standardise written Scots. McClure (1993:16) aptly refers to the "overt challenge to the social and political dominance of an 'establishment' associated with Scottish Standard English speech and conventional orthography" posed by authors such as Kelman and Leonard.

There are various factors that limit the successful representation of non-standard speech by non-standard spellings. The literary representation of non-standard pronunciation by means of graphological patterns is not effective until the norm of standard spelling is honoured. There must be some shared ground relating to the most likely effect of letter sequences. Thus, dialect pronunciation can only be represented by virtue of the shared conventions of sound-spelling correspondences of the standard orthography. In this sense, re-spellings are lexically deviant, but do not represent a change to the spelling system. The reader must be able to associate non-standard with standard spellings in order to deduce the intended pronunciation.

Next, there are a number of limits that are inherent in the representation of non-standard speech. A precise transcription, even within the limits posed by the use of the Roman alphabet, presupposes a sensitivity of listening discrimination which few people actually possess (Chapman 1984:61). Furthermore, the author can only

²⁹ In particular J. Kelman and T. Leonard see the formalised, institutionalised Lallans as just as oppressive as Standard English (Calder 1995:69).

represent those pronunciation features for which spellings can be improvised. As Ives (1971:156) correctly points out, no extensive portrayal of sub-phonemic values, including phonetic features, is possible by means of the alphabet. A scientifically accurate representation of dialect in writing could only be achieved by employing the phonetic alphabet and some means of representing supra-segmental features. Of course, this is neither feasible nor desirable in dialect fiction. A writer's aim is not the unequivocal transcription of a conversation, but the representation of sufficient dialect differences to establish different characters³⁰. Also, there is the danger that too many visual signs can obscure rather than aid communication and thus act as a possibly alienating factor. Any kind of linguistic representation is essentially subservient to the artistic purpose. Cole (1986:8) even surmises that "a corollary may be that artistic success ... is inversely proportional to distortions of the visual code". This remains to be proven, however. Also, a very detailed indication of non-standard pronunciation through elaborate re-spellings can have the effect of conferring on the reader the novel experience of being semi-literate (Macafee 1982:49). Very detailed non-standard spellings are difficult to sustain over a large space: even for a reader well acquainted with the dialect represented, the constant demand involved in transferring his knowledge of standard spelling so as to decipher and interpret the non-standard spellings can become tedious. Hence it is not surprising that those pieces of (Glasgow) fiction with the most detailed representation of non-standard speech are either short stories such as Kelman's 'Nice to Be Nice' or Hamilton's 'Moonlighting' or poems such as those by Tom Leonard. Another constraint on re-

³⁰ A striking example in this context is T. Leonard's short story 'Mr Andrews Speaks', in which a posh Kelvinside accent is parodied by the consistent representation of the Lowland English phoneme /a/ by the grapheme <e> to suggest a typical form of hypercorrection.

spelling is the paradoxical situation that non-standard but accurate representations of pronunciation and stress features which serve to indicate the rhythms and cadences of the spoken language can erroneously suggest a differentiating feature of marked social impact (Mugglestone 1995:224)³¹.

Additionally, as Macaulay (1991a:281) rightly points out, a writer's attempt to suggest a particular dialect pronunciation is unlikely to be successful unless the reader is familiar with the dialect in question. On the other hand, familiarity with a spoken dialect does not immediately imply the ability to decipher (and correctly interpret) its written representation. Both standard and non-standard spellings therefore only succeed in representing the illusion of human speech because the reader already knows what it is supposed to sound like.

Furthermore, there are of course limits pertaining to the potential readership. As Krapp (1971:24) appropriately observes, "[a]s an author [the artist] must always keep his eye on the effect, and must select and reject what the scientific observation of his material reveals to him". Readers interpret the written text in terms of their own pronunciation when reading silently. This happens automatically with texts written in standard orthography. A deviation from this standard will result in a variation of the speed of reading and implicitly in the pace of narration. This can be disturbing when the reader's speed of perception is reduced considerably by unfamiliar word images. From receiving a message directly, he is then side-tracked into considering its form and thence its meaning. There is a danger that he may fail to recognise the form, interpret it wrongly or simply misread it (Haugen 1980:275). An abundance of

³¹ Of course, the use of non-standard forms to indicate pronunciation more precisely than standard forms do has also been exploited for its connotative values by writers of eye-dialect. Cf. pp. 167-168 below.

signals is therefore undesirable. More importantly, though, the use of non-standard spellings to indicate dialect pronunciations is a method which may exclude precisely those whose speech is thus represented: socially underprivileged non-standard speakers who have not been able to profit from an extended education, whose level of functional literacy is lower than that of more educated people, and who are thus not skilled in the transferring techniques required to easily decipher, decode and correctly interpret non-standard spellings.

The methods of re-spelling are varied, but they all follow the convention of approaching the ear through the eye by drawing on a common code (Chapman 1984:84). Writers do not generally attempt to make as full a transcription of spoken speech as the limits posed by the alphabet allow. Also, representations of non-standard speech do not tend to be consistent or wholly systematic. This corresponds to the constant code-drifting and -shifting in natural speech, both dialectal and standard, but Mugglestone's (1995:221) observation that the methods of re-spelling are often impressionistic rather than entirely systematic is quite appropriate as well.

By using the alphabet, an author can indicate phonemic differences between the standard and dialectal pronunciation, as well as lexical distributional differences, i.e. the distribution of particular phonemes throughout items of the vocabulary. However, the Roman alphabet is not designed to indicate characteristics on the sub-phonemic level because of the scarcity of symbols. Also, as McClure (1997:181) points out accurately, weak forms contain an obscure vowel for which no letter of the alphabet is self-evidently more accurate than any other. Stress patterns and intonation can only be suggested to a very limited extent through the non-standard use of graphemes. For instance, in Glasgow fiction *police* is often re-spelled as <polis> to

indicate the shift of word stress from the last to the first syllable. This representation is only successful, however, because a final <-is> in standard orthography is never stressed, so that the only alternative is to stress the first syllable.

A very effective method of re-spelling consists of improvising a representation that resembles a word image in standard spelling which has approximately the same pronunciation. This kind of representation amounts to a visual pun, whose possibilities, of course, are very limited. An example appears in Tom Leonard's poem "Paroakial", where the spelling <Noah> represents Lowland English *no a*.

Colloquial elision and vowel and consonant cluster reductions are also represented by non-standard spellings. However, this convention is different from attempts to represent specific dialects because colloquial registers are used in both standard and non-standard speech. Since standard spelling does not indicate phonemic reductions, the exaggeration of a standard but colloquial pronunciation "is a convenient way of equating deviant spelling with deviant speech, even though the effect of careful listening to the implications of the text might produce nothing unfamiliar" (Chapman 1984:89). This method of re-spelling is called eye-dialect spelling. It consists of the re-spelling of familiar words to accord with the exact standard pronunciation. For instance, the spelling <wot> for *what* represents the standard pronunciation of this word more accurately than its standard spelling; it does not suggest a non-standard pronunciation. For eye-dialect representations, the pronunciation of the standard and the non-standard written form must be identical. The words whose standard spellings tend to be changed into eye-dialect spellings are words whose standard spelling is irregular in some way, as for instance *minute*, *woman*, *gauge* or *liquor*. Eye-dialect spellings have profound implications in calling attention to non-stigmatised

pronunciations. They serve to stigmatise the speaker whose speech is represented by this method. Thus, they have no non-standard phonological implications, but act as a visual sign to the reader. They can suggest that the speaker is illiterate, or they can add to the impression that he is a non-standard speaker because his speech is represented by non-standard spellings (however accurately they may indicate the standard pronunciation), or they help to create the appearance of speech with many unfamiliar sounds. Of course, eye-dialect spellings can also be an indication that the writer is not making a serious effort to convey a regional or class dialect by drawing attention to features which are not characteristic of that particular variety of speech. The difference between eye-dialect spellings and literary dialect is that while both use non-standard spellings, the former does so to indicate a standard pronunciation, the latter to represent a non-standard pronunciation.

5.3.2 TWO EXAMPLES FROM GLASGOW FICTION

In order to illustrate the use of non-standard spelling in Glasgow fiction, a passage from the first 20th century Glasgow novel and one from a fairly recent short story will be discussed. *Wee MacGreegor* (1902) is perhaps the earliest Glasgow novel to attempt (though not all that specifically or accurately) a large-scale representation of the Glasgow dialect in fiction, and 'Moonlighting' (1980) is one of the most radically innovative and comprehensive non-standard representations of the Glasgow dialect in fiction. In a way, these two works can be regarded respectively as the starting point and a recent high point of the use of the Glasgow dialect in 20th century fiction.

However, only the spelling will be analysed, focussing on the representation of Scots, Lowland English, and Glaswegian forms of pronunciation as well as idiosyncratic non-standard spellings, and their relation to the conventions of the standard orthography. Hence, there is no need to put the passages into their context or to give an introduction to the dialect-speaking characters. Vocabulary and grammatical features will not be analysed here either, unless it is in the context of the relationship between symbol and sound.

5.3.2.1 *Wee MacGreegor*

The following passage is taken from the beginning of chapter nine, 'MacGreegor's New Hat'. In this scene, MacGreegor's parents are having a conversation.

- (1)'I dinna think I'll gang oot the day, John,' said Lizzie. (2)'Wee Jeannie's that girny. (3)I doot I'll hae to gi'e her ile, puir doo. (4)Ye sudna ha'e gi'ed her thon bit kipper last nicht.'
 (5)'Och, Lizzie, it wis jist a tate the size o' yer nail.'
 (6)'Weel, ye ken fine she's ower wee fur kippers, John. (7)An' ye ken I wudna gi'e her that kin' o' meat masel'. (8)I'm shair ye micht ha'e mair sense not to gi'e her everythin' she cries fur. (9)But it canna be helpit noo.'
 (10)'I'm rale vexed, wumman,' said John. (11)'I think I'll bide in the hoose. (12)I'm no' heedin' aboot gaun oot the day.'
 (13)'Na, na, John. (14a)Ye've got to tak' MacGreegor to the baun', (14b)fur ye promised the wean.'
 (15)'Tak' MacGreegor yersel', Lizzie, an' I'll mind wee Jeannie.'
 (16)'Toots, havers! (17a)Ye see, I'm no' jist shair if it wis the kipper that done it, (17b)sae ye needna be blamin' yersel' aboot wee Jeannie.'
 (18)'Dae ye think it wisna the kipper?' said John eagerly.
 (19)'Maybe it wisna. (20a)Onywey, I ken whit to dae; (20b)sae aff ye gang wi' MacGreegor ... (21)MacGreegor, ha'e ye washed yer face?'
 (22)'Ay, Maw.'
 (23a)'Weel, bring ower the brush, (23b)till I pit yer hair stracht ... (24)Staun' quate noo! (25)Tits, laddie! (26)hoo can I mak' a shed when ye're wagglin' yer heid? (27)There, noo! ... (28)Let me see yer haun's. (29)Did ye wash them?'
 (30)'Ay, maw.'
 (31)'Awa' an' wash them again. (32)An' tie yer lace ... (33)Here, John, keep yer e'e on wee Jeannie till I get MacGreegor's new hat.'
 (Bell 1977:70-71)

This passage is characterised by the frequent use of a large number of traditional Scots spellings, a smaller number of non-standard spellings to indicate the Glasgow accent rather than General Scots forms, and a few instances of eye-dialect.

With regard to General Scots forms, syllable-final consonant-loss is represented by the spellings <kin'> (7), <baun'> (14a), <staun'> (24) and <haun's> (28). In all four cases, an apostrophe indicates the omission of the grapheme <d> after [n]. The use of an apostrophe is an indication that the words in question are considered as deviant from Standard English rather than in their own right as Scots forms.

The General Scots phenomenon of v-deletion is represented in the spellings <gi'e> (3,7,8), <gi'ed> (4) and <ha'e> (4,21), and v-deletion is indicated by the spelling <ower> (6,23a). In the first three cases, the apostrophe marks the omission of <v>, whereas in the last case the vocalised pronunciation [o(w)ər] is suggested. V-deletion also occurs in <doo> (3), where it is not graphologically marked.

The voiceless fricatives [ç] and [χ] are represented by the digraph <ch> in <nicht> (4), <micht> (8), <och> (5) and <stracht> (23b). It has to be pointed out that the digraph <ch> only represents [ç] and [χ] in medial and final positions, whereas word-initially, of course, it represents the affricate /tʃ/.

Another spelling which indicates a General Scots phonological feature is the digraph <oo> for [u]. This spelling occurs in <oot> (1,12), <noo> (9,27), <hoose> (11), <aboot> (12,17b), <hoo> (26), <doo> (3) and <doot> (3). Apart from the fact that in these words the same digraph is used consistently for the same realisation, whereas the standard spelling variously has the digraphs <ow> and <ou>, it has to be noted that the re-spellings depend on the recognition that the digraph <oo> in

standard orthography indicates [u]³². Thus, the desired pronunciation is suggested by the adoption of the sound-spelling conventions of the standard orthography. The spelling <doot> also merits particular attention. Not only does the digraph <oo> indicate the pronunciation [u], but the omission of the silent , which is present in the standard spelling of this word, has a twofold effect. On the one hand, it gives the spelling <doot> an unfamiliar appearance with the connotation of unfamiliar speech, and on the other hand, while depending on the standard orthography, it also regularises the spelling of words indicating the pronunciation [u].

Another characteristic feature of Scots pronunciation is the preference for <a>-forms over English <o>-forms. Here, the digraph <ae> in <hae> (3), <sae> (17b,20b) and <dae> (18,20a) represents the [e:]. The sequence <aCe> is another possible spelling for Scots <a>-forms and also indicates the realisation [e]; however, the three instances where this spelling variant is used in the passage belong to a different category. The spelling <tate> (5) indicates the pronunciation [tet] in analogy to the spelling of some <a>-forms. However, *tate*³³ does not in fact represent an <a>-form: it has no English cognate <o>-form. The spellings <rale> (10) (*real*) and <quate> (24) (*quite*) also suggest the pronunciation [e] of the vowel, but in these two cases we are concerned with re-spellings that do not represent <o>-forms.

The digraph <ui> suggesting the fronted realisation [ʊ] occurs in <puir> (3). However, this digraph does not signal a different pronunciation from that represented

³² Modern English [u] evolved through raising of Old and Middle English [o:]; the Modern English pronunciations [ʊ] in *good* and [ʌ] in *blood* are due to a shortening and (for [ʌ] in *blood*) subsequent unrounding of Middle English [u:] before [t,d,θ,f,v] and before [k] in monosyllabic words (Faiß 1989:55).

³³ Conventionally it is spelled <tait>.

by the spelling <oo>; rather, the change of the standard spelling <poor> to non-standard <puir> is a signal to the reader that the pronunciation of this lexeme is non-standard, i.e. [pʊ:r]; furthermore, it is historically familiar through Burns and other examples. To use the standard digraph <oo> (although this would be in line with the spellings <doo>, <hoo>, <hoose> etc.) would be to suggest the standard pronunciation. Thus, although there are realisational differences, the different representations of [ʊ(:)] have to be attributed to the desire to mark their distinctness from the standard spelling rather than to indicate the realisational difference between the two allophones – a difference which, moreover, may not correspond to reality.

The digraph <ee> is used in the spellings <weel> (6,23a) and <MacGreegor> (15,20b,21,33) to represent the pronunciation and thus to suggest the retention of Middle English and Older Scots [i(:)]. This is a typical Scots feature of pronunciation.

The realisation [ɔ(:)] is represented by three different graphemes: by <au> in <baun'> (14a), <staun> (24) <haun's> (28) and <gaun> (12), by <a'> in <awa'> (31) and by <o> in <onywey> (20a). In the first three cases, the spelling signals the regional Scots raising and rounding of Middle Scots [a] to [ɔ] before [n]. In the spelling <awa'> the characteristic Scots pronunciation [awɔ:] or [awa:] (*away*) is suggested; the apostrophe indicates the omission of standard <y> and implies a vowel change. The raising of [a] to [ɔ] before nasal + vowel indicated by the spelling <onywey> can be dated back to the 15th century (Kniezsa 1997:42).

The past participle ending is represented by the General Scots spelling <-it> in <helpit> (9), but otherwise by the standard spelling <-ed>. Another Scots grammatical feature represented by a non-standard spelling is the present participle

and verbal noun suffix <-in'>³⁴ to suggest the pronunciation [ĕn] or [m] in <heedin'> (12), <blamin'> (17b) and <wagglin'> (26). The apostrophe indicates the omission only of a graph and not, of course, of a phoneme, since the standard pronunciation of this inflectional ending is [ɪŋ], not [ɪŋg]. In the spelling <gaun> (12), the grapheme <n> has to be interpreted as a syllabic consonant [ŋ] which has assimilated the preceding unstressed [ɪ]. The spelling <-na> of the enclitic negative particle in <dinna> (1), <sudna> (4), <wudna> (7), <canna> (9), <needna> (17b) and <wisna> (18,19) also indicates a grammatical feature. With regard to the spellings <sudna> and <wudna> it has to be noticed that the silent <l>, which is present in the standard spelling, is omitted here, and that the standard digraph <ou> has been changed to <u>. The grapheme <u> can indicate the pronunciation [u] or [ʊ], or it can signal the realisation [ʌ] as in the spelling <fur> (6,8,14b) (*for*). Given the regularity of the [ʊ] representation as <oo>, the second interpretation is more convincing.

The spellings <mak'> (26) and <tak'> (14a,15) suggest the typical Scots pronunciation [a] of the vowel. The apostrophe serves to signal the omission of a grapheme and at the same time indicates that the Middle English monophthong [a(:)] has been retained in Scots.

In the spelling <e'e> (33) (*eye*) the apostrophe indicates a graphemic omission in relation to the (irregular) standard spelling. The pronunciation [i:] of the Scots word could also have been indicated by the traditional Scots spelling <ee>. The digraph <ei> in <heid> (26) suggests the characteristic Scots pronunciation [i], which is the

³⁴ The loss of the distinction between the present participle suffix *-and* and the verbal noun suffix *-ing* can be traced back to the beginning of the 16th century. A possible explanation for this development is that in many varieties of Scots both [ɪŋg] and [and] had already been reduced to [ən] in speech and that this collapse in the spoken medium facilitated the spread of the <-ing> spelling to the present participle.

regular outcome of Middle English [ɛ:].

West Central and typical Glaswegian features of pronunciation are represented by the grapheme <i> to indicate the unstressed pronunciation [ɛ̃] or [ɪ] in <wis> (5,17a), <jist> (5,17a), <wisna> (18,19), <whit> (20a), and <pit> (23b).

The grapheme <a> is used to represent the unstressed pronunciation [ʌ] in the spelling <masel'> (7) and the typical Glaswegian pronunciation [a] in a labial environment in <aff> (20b) and <na> (13). The sequence <iCe> in <ile> (3) represents the pronunciation [ɛɪ] or [əɪ], which is characteristic of Glaswegian pronunciation. The digraph <ey> in <onywey> (20a) suggests the diphthongal realisation [əɪ], which reflects the Older Scots retention of the diphthongisation of Old English front vowels followed by <3> (Murison 1977:27).

Finally, a number of consonant cluster reductions are indicated by apostrophes in <o'> (5,7), <an'> (7,15,31,32), <masel'> (7), <yersel'> (17b), <everythin'> (8), <no'> (12,17a) and <wi'> (20b). In the cases of <o'>, <an'> and <wi'> the reduction is indicative not only of the Glasgow dialect, but also of a colloquial register. The two personal pronouns <masel'> and <yersel'> are dialectal forms, whereas the omission of the graph <g> in <everythin> (8) can be interpreted as an analogy to the representation of the present participle and verbal noun inflectional suffix, and the spelling <no'> is also typical of Lowland English.

There is one instance of eye-dialect in the passage: the spelling <wumman> (10) is an alternative representation of the standard pronunciation.

There are only two inconsistencies in the passage in the representation of non-standard features in that a certain form is represented in some cases but not in others. In the spelling <mind> (15) syllable-final consonant-loss is not suggested, and <hae>

(3) does not have an apostrophe to suggest v-deletion, as <ha'e> (4,21) does. Furthermore, two characteristic Glaswegian features of pronunciation are not represented at all: the glottal stop and the monosyllabic realisation of the first person singular pronoun, e.g. as <Ah>.

5.3.3.2 'Moonlighting'

The following passage appears in the first quarter of the short story by Alex Hamilton. It depicts a conversation between the couple who are at the centre of the story.

(1)'Aw naw!' e iexplodes. (2)'Whitdji mean, *sno sittin therr eni merr!* (3)A motir hisnae goat leg zan feet a it sain thitit kin jiss get up n tay ka walk tae itself whinivir it feels lik a wee daunir doon thi toon! (4a)Yi lee vit wherr yi lee vit; (4b)yi pit oan thi haunbrake; (4c)yi loack thi door – (4d)n when yi cum back it's sittin jiss wherr yi walk taway fae it. (5)UmAh right urumAh no right, ih? (6)UmAh right urumAh wrang?' (7)'Well,' shi goes, 'aye, yir right, bit Ah *did* lee vit jiss here oan thi drive ...' (8)'Aw aye,' e says, jiss taboot risign tae it bae noo, (9)'so yi jiss lef tit oan thi driveway, didji? (10)No in its wee hoose, naw? (11)No in thi extra bit garidge yi insistit Ah goat pit up kiz yir motir widnae start oan thi wintir moarnins? (12)No in thi cosy wee kennil thit coast near inuff a grand tae arect? (13)No in thi liabiliti thit's stuck wir rateable value up that much thit ma accountint hisnae manidge tae dream up a tax dodge tae covir it yit?' (14a)Course, thirz nuthn shi kin say tae this kiz - (14b)accordion tae Johnny, eniwey – (14c)it saw true, (14d)n shi wiz gey stupit tae lee vur caur ootside wi thi keys keek noot thi ignitium fur aw tae see. (Hamilton 1985:41)

This passage is characterised by a plethora of non-standard spellings. In fact, even at a cursory glance it will be evident that non-standard spellings far outnumber standard ones. But it has to be pointed out that despite the idiosyncratic appearance of the passage (and indeed the whole short story), most re-spellings are only effective

because they are based on the standard orthographic conventions³⁵ and can only be interpreted with a knowledge of these rules. The non-standard spellings employed can be categorised into four different groups: dialect spellings, colloquial reductions, over-riding of conventional word boundaries and eye-dialect spellings.

The General Scots phenomenon of syllable-final consonant-loss is suggested in the spellings <jiss> (4d,7,8,9) and <haunbrake> (4b), and l-vocalisation is indicated by the spelling <aw> (14d) (*all*). The digraph <au> is used to indicate the pronunciation [ɔ] in the spellings <daunir> (3) and <haunbrake> (4b), and [ɔ:] in <caur> (14d). The raising and rounding of Middle Scots [a] to [ɔ(:)] before [n] and [r] is a typical West Central feature.

Two spellings are employed to indicate the Scots pronunciation [e(:)] of different <a>-forms: the digraph <ae> for [e:] in <hisnae> (3,13), <tae> (3,8,13,14a-b+d), <widnae> (11) and <fae> (4d), and the digraph <ai> for [e] in <(it s)ain> (3). The grapheme <a> in <wrang> (6) suggests the pronunciation [a]; this vowel has been preserved in Scots when it was followed historically by a nasal + consonant [ŋg]. The digraph <ae> in <bae> (8) can be interpreted as a representation either of [ɛ] or of [e:]. However, since the digraph spelling here is a means of representing the monophthongal realisation of *by* in unstressed position, it is more plausible to assume that the intended pronunciation is [ə].

The digraph <oo> is used to suggest the pronunciation [u] in the spellings <doon> (3), <toon> (3), <(t)aboot> (8), <noo> (8), <hoose> (10), <ootside> (14d) and <(n)oot> (14d). In terms of the pronunciation of Scots grammatical forms, the

³⁵ Some spellings rely on Middle Scots spelling traditions and thus only indirectly, if at all, on English conventions.

representation of the past participle suffix <-it> in <insistit> (11) and of the present participle inflectional ending <-in> in <sittin> (2) and as a syllabic consonant [ŋ] in the spelling <keek noot> (14d) could be interpreted as conventional Scots spellings. However, it is possible to assume that the suggested realisation of the spelling <-it> is not [ët] or [ɪt] but [ət]. In this case, the ending would be a representation of colloquial or connected speech rather than a Scots form, since the <i> can be a representation of [ə] and the <t> is pronounced to avoid a hiatus with the following vowel of <Ah>. With regard to the above spellings representing Scots features of pronunciation, it can be maintained that the digraph <oo> and the spelling <aw> to represent [ɔ(:)] rely on standard spelling conventions, while the other features discussed are based on Scots spelling conventions.

Glaswegian features of pronunciation are represented by the spelling <err> for [ɛ(:)r] in <therr> (2), <merr> (2) and <wherr> (4a), by the digraph <oa> to represent the high mid instead of the Lowland English low mid back vowel [o] in <goat> (3,11), <oan> (4b), <loack> (4c) and <coast> (12), and [ɔ:] in <moarnins> (11), and by the grapheme <a> to suggest final unstressed [ʌ] in <ma> (13). To indicate [ʌ] in initial or medial position, the grapheme <u> is used as in <umAh> (5,6), <urumAh> (5,6), <fur> (14d), <lee vur> (14d), <inuff> (12) and <nuthn> (14a). In the spelling <eniwey> (14b) the digraph <ey> indicates the pronunciation [əɪ] or [eɪ].

The digraph <aw> is also used to suggest [ɔ:] when l-vocalisation does not apply, as in the spelling of the exclamation <aw> (1,8) and the negative particle <naw> (1,10). The first person singular pronoun is represented as <Ah> (5,6,7,11) to indicate the monophthongal pronunciation [a], and the first person plural possessive pronoun is spelled <wir> (13) to suggest the pronunciation [wër] or [wʌr]. The

preposition *of* is represented as <a> (3) to suggest the typical Glaswegian reduced and unstressed pronunciation [a] or [ə]. Finally, the grapheme <i> is used in dialectal forms to represent [ĕ] or [ɪ] in <whitdji> (2), <hisnae> (3,13), <jiss> (4d,7,8,9), <lik> (3), <didji> (9), <yi> (4a-d,9,11), <yir> (7) and <widnae> (11).

A number of non-standard spellings attempt to represent features of colloquial and connected speech which are not regionally restricted. These include h-dropping in the spellings <e> (1,8) (*he*) and <lee vur> (14d) (*leave her*), ellipsis in <sno> (2) (*it is not*), and consonant cluster reductions in <(z)an> (3) and <n> (14d) (*and*), <wi> (14d) (*with*) and in the endings of <moarnins> (11), <accordi(o)n> (14b)³⁶ and <nuthn> (14a), where in the first two cases an analogy to the verbal noun suffix might be surmised, whereas in the third case the final <n> represents the syllabic consonant [ŋ]. Assimilation is suggested by the spellings <risign tae> (8) and <manidge tae> (13), where the past participle suffix is assimilated into the following [t] of <tae>, as well as by the spelling <yir> (7) (*you/ye are*), where the second vowel has been assimilated into the first. Finally, the grapheme <i> is also used to indicate that the vowel thus represented is unstressed in connected speech in the spellings <thit(it)> (3,13), <kin> (3,14a), <thirz> (14a), <bit> (7), <whinivir> (3), <pit> (4b,11), <kiz> (14a), <yit> (13) and <wiz> (14d).

In the spelling <kin> the standard consonant spelling <c> has been changed to <k>, probably because the standard-reading audience would interpret the sequence <ci-> as a representation of [sɪ] or [saɪ], since according to standard spelling rules <c> before <e,i> is pronounced [s]. In the spellings <thirz>, <kiz> and <wiz> the <z> suggests a voiced fricative realisation; however, since in standard pronunciation the

³⁶ Assuming the <o> is a printing mistake. But cf. also p.181 below.

grapheme <s> would be realised in these positions as [z] as well, and since the vowels represented by <i> are unstressed in standard speech too, these spellings can be regarded as instances of eye-dialect spellings.

The passage contains numerous instances where conventional word boundaries are over-ridden in order to indicate stress patterns. Thus, although the letters of the alphabet themselves are insufficient to represent supra-segmental features, a manipulation of word boundaries represents one method of indicating sub-phonemic characteristics. The re-spellings concerned fall into two categories: there are some cases where word boundaries are simply ignored and words are run together into one, and there are some instances where new non-standard word boundaries are created. Spellings which indicate coalescence, i.e. the running together of words, are <whitdji> (2) (*what do you*), <sno> (2) (*it is not*), <thitit> (3) (*that it*), <umAh> (5,6) (*am I*), <urumAh> (5,6) (*or am I*), <yir> (7) (*you are*), <didji> (9) (*did you*) and <thirz> (14a) (*there is*). New word boundaries are created presumably as an indication of rhythm in the spellings <leg zan> (3) (*legs and*), <it sain> (3) (*its own/ain*), <tay ka> (3) (*take a*), <lee vit> (4a) (*leave it*), <walk taway> (4d)³⁷ (*walked away*), <lef tit> (9) (*left it*), <it saw> (14c) (*it's all*), <lee vur> (14d) (*leave her*) and <keek noot> (14d) (*keeking out*). The spellings <tay ka>, <lee vit> and <lee vur> are particularly interesting since the newly created word boundaries here suggest that the final consonant of a word is attached to the beginning of the next word if that starts with a vowel. As Abercrombie (1979:82) argues, this pattern to

³⁷ Here, the <t> is also an eye-dialect spelling because the realisation of the past tense inflectional morpheme after a voiceless consonant is [t] in standard speech as well.

make as many syllables open syllables as possible is a distinctive feature of Lowland Scottish speakers.

Eye-dialect spellings in this passage are based on different characteristics of the standard orthography. Firstly, some eye-dialect spellings rely on the fact that stressed vowel phonemes can be represented by different symbols. In the spellings <lee vit> (4a) and <lee vur> (14d) the digraph <ee> represents [i], which in the standard spelling of these words is represented by the digraph <ea>. The spelling <tay ka> (3) relies on the option in the standard orthography to represent [e(:)] by the digraph <ay>, whereas the standard spelling in this case follows the pattern <aCe>. A number of eye-dialect spellings are based on the fact that [i] and [ɪ] can both be represented by the grapheme <i>. In the spellings <thi> (3,4b+c,7,9,11,12,13,14d), <shi> (7,14a+d) and <yi> (4a-d,9,11) <i> suggests [i], whereas in the spellings <liabiliti> (13), <eni> (2) and <eniwey> (14b) it suggests the unstressed pronunciation [ɪ] (or [ə]) which in the standard is represented by the grapheme <y>, and by <e> in <inuff> (12). In both <eni> and <eniwey> the first grapheme <e> suggests the realisation [ɛ] rather than [ɪ], and hence no different pronunciation from the standard one. In two cases, eye-dialect spellings rely on the representation of consonants in the standard orthography: in <leg zan> (3) and <thirz> (14a) the <z> grapheme signals the voiced realisation of what is represented by <s> in the standard spelling while being pronounced [z]; in <inuff> (12) the <ff> spelling signals the pronunciation [f] of the standard <gh> digraph. Finally, the passage makes clever use of the fact that in the standard orthography, the stressed vowels [a], [e], [ɪ], [ɔ] and [ʌ], which are represented by the vowel graphemes <a>, <e>, <i>, <o> and <u>, are

all realised as [ə] if they occur in unstressed positions³⁸. Hence, the graphemes can be used interchangeably to represent any of these five phonemes in unstressed position. The passage relies heavily on this convention when substituting the grapheme <i> for any of the four vowel graphemes in the spellings <ixplodes> (1), <wintir> (11), <motir> (3,11), <garidge> (11) and <manidge>(13), <kennil> (12), <inuff> (12), <accountint> (13), <covir> (13) and <risign> (8), where <a> is used in <arect> (12), and in the suffix in <ignitium> (14d).

An effect of some of the non-standard spellings employed in the passage is the creation of visual puns where the re-spelled words look like standard ones but have an entirely different meaning. This is the case with the spellings <coast>, <goat>, <kin> and <it saw>. However, here I would argue that this effect is the accidental result of a deliberate "turning of a blind eye" by the author. The curious spelling <accordion> (14b) might also be grouped in this category.

Finally, the non-standard spellings <widji> (2) and <didji> (9) merit some discussion. These spellings appear to be an attempt at suggesting assimilation by coalescence through the preference of non-standard <j> over standard <y>. However, this choice seems odd: the grapheme <j> tends to indicate the affricate [dʒ], whereas <y> indicates the half vowel [j]. According to these standard spelling rules, the spelling <widji> suggests the pronunciation [wɪddʒɪ] and <didji> suggests [dɪddʒɪ], whereas the re-spellings <widyi> and <didyi> would have indicated the pronunciation [wɪdʒɪ] and [dɪdʒɪ]. In effect, the re-spellings chosen are not instances of eye-dialect but idiosyncratic spellings presumably suggesting what the author is

³⁸ E.g. <frater>-<fraternal>, <dialectal>-<dialect>, <irritate>-<irritation>, <atomic>-<atom>, <fulminate>-<fulmination>.

hearing.

In conclusion it can be maintained that Hamilton's use of non-standard spellings to indicate both phonemic and sub-phonemic characteristics of the Glaswegian dialect and of colloquial reductions is highly effective and accurate. It cannot be overemphasised, though, that for the successful employment of non-standard spellings he exploits to a great extent the rules of standard orthography.

6 SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE

6.1 THE RELATION BETWEEN

SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE

It has to be emphasised from the outset that writing is not simply a means of recording speech. Although it serves as a means of conveying and preserving information, written language is not simply spoken language written down.

The written and the spoken modes have evolved to serve different purposes of communication. Despite some degree of overlap, they are used in different settings, they serve different functions and they differ in terms of their formal properties. Yet, both the phonic medium¹ of speech and the graphic medium of writing are vehicles for the transmission of language. Speech and writing are "carriers of a value conferred upon them by reference to the abstract language system" (O'Donnell & Todd 1980:2).

¹ Hughes (1996:7) uses the term channel to denote the oral/aural and the motoric/visual processes of speaking and writing, while reserving the term medium for the precise method and substances which are used to convey the discourse, as for instance telephone calls or graffiti. In contrast to that usage, I adopt the term medium here for writing and speech (or speaking), and the term mode to refer to the types of language associated with medium, i.e. written and spoken language. Since my focus is not on speech and writing in general or on different methods of conveying written and spoken discourse, but on the written mode in the shape of prose fiction and on the spoken mode in the shape of conversation, a distinction between medium and channel in Hughes's sense would be redundant.

therefore refers to this negotiation aspect as the interactive plane of discourse⁴. The shared physical and temporal context also serves as a background for the speaker and the addressees to maintain their relationship, thus giving prominence to the interactional rather than the informational function of conversation.

The functional features of the spoken medium are reflected in the formal properties spoken language displays. In a conversation situation, words are not linguistically exclusive and all-important. Vocal, prosodic, kinetic, and paralinguistic means⁵ play a decisive role in establishing understanding and coherence. Thus, even though spoken language is strictly linear and subject to real-time constraints, much more than the verbal meaning of the utterance is conveyed at a time. Indeed, meaning is established through the simultaneous interaction of verbal and non-verbal means; however, the latter tend to be regarded as less decisive than the verbal content of an utterance. O'Donnell and Todd (1980:70) observe that when a facial message contradicts the propositional content of an utterance, listeners are inclined to believe the face rather than the words, but this is a special circumstance which occurs precisely when the words must be withdrawn from their central role.

The actual discourse evolving in the shape of a conversation is typically, but not invariably, characterised by lexical sparsity, low nominality and concrete diction. Casual conversation then is marked by a low proportion of lexical words to the total number of

⁴ The other aspect of language in use beside the negotiation aspect is what Sinclair calls the developing record of experience (Sinclair 1981:72), or the autonomous plane of discourse. The autonomous plane of discourse is concerned with the organisation and maintenance of the text structure rather than the means by which language is related to the world outside.

⁵ Cf. section 6.2.1 below.

running words (Halliday 1989:64), by a preference for verbs instead of nouns or verbal nouns, by relatively heavy premodification of noun phrases, and by the use of concrete vocabulary and deictic determiners referring to the physical speech situation of the conversation. Again, these formal properties reflect the low informational focus of conversation.

Spoken discourse tends to be sequential and more fragmented⁶ than a carefully composed and edited written text. Spoken language does not typically contain internally complex clauses. Fragmentation manifests itself in the co-ordination of simple clauses by conjunctions such as *and*, *but*, *so* and *because* (Chafe 1982:38), or in the absence of connectives between clauses. Also, the language of conversation is more concrete than the relatively abstract language of expository prose, and conversation depends for its understanding on the speech situation in which it develops. However, Biber's (1988:37) claim that "stereotypical speech is structurally simple, fragmented, concrete and dependent on exophoric reference" cannot be upheld in its entirety. Conversational language is not "simple" in the sense that it lacks complexity. Rather, conversational language has a dynamic complexity that manifests itself in the ways in which clauses are linked by an intricate process of movement and shifting between different speakers. Halliday (1989:87) aptly refers to this kind of structure as choreographic. Overlaps, repetitions, ellipsis, and interruptions often combine to create and advance a satisfactory conversation. It can therefore be argued that speech and in particular casual conversation is characterised by a high grammatical intricacy. This formal property reflects the interactive situational function of conversation.

⁶ That is, fragmented in the sense of broken up or disconnected, but not in the sense of incomplete.

In contrast to speech, writing is organised in space. There are no real-time constraints either on the production or the reception of a written text. The interactive process which is clearly observable in real-time in conversation is not so prominent in writing: "the relevant interaction is an imagined construct of the writer" (Sinclair 1981:71), and there is no structural need for movement-by-movement interaction in a written text. However, Sinclair (1981:74) points out that written prose is more than "a string of verbalised content propositions, with appropriate logical connections"; otherwise it could only be described on the autonomous plane of text organisation. But features like predictions, anticipations, self- and cross-references and others are also displayed in written prose. The motivation for these features, Sinclair (1981:75) argues, is to present the written text interactively.

Since writing is temporally independent, the producer of written language has ample opportunity for careful planning and re-drafting without an interlocutor interrupting him. He also has the chance to incorporate or integrate more information into an "idea unit" (Chafe 1982:39) because of the greater amount of time available for the production of a written text, thus fostering the integration of written language as opposed to the fragmentation of spoken language. Although written language too is linear, and only one word can be produced at a time, the draft version itself with all the changes made to it is synoptically and permanently available to the writer.

Whereas the physical process of writing is anchored in the here-and-now of the production situation, the final textual product is independent of and understandable without any knowledge of the specific production situation. In this sense, the textual product is simply a written text. However, to conclude that written language is thus de-

contextualised or autonomous⁷ would be misleading. Indeed, every written record is the result of "a dynamic process in which language was used as an instrument of communication in a context by a writer to express meanings and achieve intentions" (Brown & Yule 1983:26). The communicative function of written language is more obvious in personal letters than for instance in academic expositions. Also, texts like personal letters or lecture scripts have a predictable audience. The written medium can thus not *generally* be characterised as autonomous. Written language is only autonomous in terms of the lack of immediate feedback from recipients during production. And, of course, the good writer will anticipate and cater for any possible feedback beforehand. Chafe (1982:45;1985:105) characterises written language as having a detached quality, which manifests itself for example in the use of the passive voice and nominalisation. The detachment particularly characteristic of expository prose stands in diametrical opposition to the interpersonal involvement (Tannen 1985:124) of conversation.

The final textual product is synoptically available to the recipients who have the opportunity to skip and backtrack passages. The written text is a sequence of clearly delineated, discrete elements which form a static, immutable, monumental piece of written language available for inspection.

⁷ Olson (1994:186) argues that a text can be seen as autonomous "only when both what is said and how it is to be taken are indicated in the text", i.e. when the meaning of the text can be established without consulting the author. While a reader can treat a text like this, it seems to me an almost impossible task to draft a written discourse in such a way that the text can unambiguously stand for the intention of the author. Olson does not even mention the issue of hermeneutics, although it is intrinsic to the understanding of every text. There are no guarantees for the effective control of how a written text is interpreted. Carter & Nash (1990:24) argue appropriately that "any equation between analysis of linguistic form and an interpretation of semantic function is necessarily a somewhat arbitrary one". There is a dichotomy between form and meaning and an associated arbitrariness (Carter & Nash 1990:25) which render the autonomy of any text in Olson's sense impossible.

In the written mode, words are all-important. Although there is a limited scope for graphic or pictorial depiction, meaning is almost exclusively created through verbal means and punctuation. Accordingly, coherence is established through lexicalisation and grammar. With no possibility of rendering vocal, prosodic, kinetic and paralinguistic qualities other than by lexicalisation and diacritics, the lexical-syntactical structure has to convey both verbal and non-verbal meaning. This meaning is first created by the author through the careful integration of lexis and grammar. It is then re-created by the readers of the literary discourse.

Since written discourse is deliberately planned, organised and edited, the final textual product should be expected to display a complex syntactical structure in order to create maximum effect with fewest words. Syntactic co-ordination and sub-ordination also allow for the expression and linking of complex ideas and concepts. However, written language – or written English at least – tends to display a low grammatical intricacy, despite the fact that there is available an extensive set of linguistic means to mark the relationship between clauses, as for instance that-complementisers, temporal markers and logical connectors (Brown & Yule 1983:16). Although written sentences are more complex than the spoken fragments typical of casual conversation, written sentences or clause complexes do not generally show a great use of hypotaxis. On the level of clauses, written language is not grammatically complex either. The complexity of written language is to be associated with the high lexical density and the abstract diction of written texts rather than with an intricate syntactic structure. Thus, whereas spoken language is grammatically complex, written language is lexically complex (Halliday 1989:63).

Written language primarily has a transactional⁸ use (Brown & Yule 1983:13) and hence a higher informational focus than spoken language. It also tends to be textually explicit since the contents and its context have to be inferred from the literary discourse alone. Written language also exhibits a high degree of nominalisation and grammatical metaphors, i.e. it is more reliant on verbal nouns, nouns and noun phrases than on verbs. These formal properties apply especially to academic expository prose.

6.1.2 FICTIONAL PROSE

Imaginative fiction is not as far removed from the spoken mode and, in particular, from conversation as other written genres. The informational function of fiction is less important and the actual information provided in fiction is less abstract than in expository prose. Accordingly, the language of fiction is rather less explicit and more situation-dependent (Biber 1988:61). Fictional prose shows much more involvement than expository prose: fiction writers are not as detached from their audience as other writers. In fact, they create an imaginary world for their readers, which these readers in turn have to re-create. Fiction requires interactive engagement. In this sense, there is an interpersonal involvement of both the author and the recipients of prose fiction.

The potential readership is largely unpredictable and the recipients remain anonymous to the author as well. In this sense, fiction displays a one-dimensional

⁸ The transactional function of written language is defined as expressing content rather than social relations (Brown & Yule 1983:1).

relationship between the author and the addressees. The production situation of fiction is autonomous to a qualified degree. With the obvious exception of autobiographical novels, fictional writing can hardly be characterised as contextualised. However, this claim calls for some considerable qualification. The aim of composing a text independent of the immediate environment of production does hold true for the creation of fiction as much as for other written genres. But in terms of fiction, the final written product depends crucially on the contribution of background information on the setting and the characters⁹, which has to be supplied both by the author in the text and by the readers¹⁰. It could thus be argued that fiction is de-contextualised in as much as the production situation is not reflected in the novel. In terms of the background knowledge provided by the author and shared by the readers, however, fiction is contextualised. There is a general pool of shared knowledge which is established between the author and the readers "by virtue of the fact that a reader can be assumed to have retained some of the information presented earlier" (Emmott 1997:6). Also, since an author does not aim at providing all the meaning in the text itself, but relies on inference-suggesting pieces of information, fiction is also interactive: the reader is not limited to passively registering information (Rader 1992:188). Instead, he fills in the gaps left by the author and makes inferences about the overall plot by using his general knowledge and the text-specific knowledge provided by the author.

⁹ This "text-specific" knowledge (Emmott 1997:6) may be taken for granted by the author once it has been stated.

¹⁰ In fact, "prior knowledge of the fictional world is useful for inference-making" (Emmot 1997:50).

6.1.3 THE RELATION BETWEEN THE LANGUAGE OF CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE AND THE LANGUAGE OF FICTIONAL DISCOURSE

In order to establish the relation between the language of conversation and that of fiction, the functional and formal similarities between conversational and fictional discourse have to be considered. Both types of discourse aim at creating interpersonal involvement. In conversation, the addressees are to be involved as participants rather than mere recipients. In fiction, the readers are meant to become involved in the story and with the characters, despite the fact that readers are only recipients of the written discourse. However, by sharing with the author a general knowledge about narrative conventions as well as a text-specific knowledge about the fictional world, readers also become interpersonally involved in literary discourse: the active reader adds to the text of a piece of fiction (Rader 1992:189). The purpose of both conversation and fiction is to move rather than convince the addressees. As Bruner (1986:11) maintains, "arguments convince one of their truth, stories of their lifelikeliness"; fiction tries to establish verisimilitude, but not formal or empirical proof.

The formal similarities between conversational and fictional discourse might not seem as obvious as the functional ones at first sight. "Whereas conversation is generally thought to be messy, pedestrian, and error-ridden, literary discourse is considered an exalted form of language" (Tannen 1988:89). The fragmented, allegedly unstructured appearance of conversation does not bear any striking similarities to carefully constructed literary texts. However, in assigning characteristics such as "formlessness" to

conversation and "integrated complex structure" to fiction, we are dealing with the respective end products, i.e. with recorded or transcribed speech and written or printed fiction. But whereas the meaning of a conversation is jointly created in the process of its production and does not reveal itself in the final product only, the fictional text is normally only available in an edited and thus idealised version which ignores the writing process. Halliday (1989:100) very aptly describes the alleged formlessness of conversation as a myth which arises through the analysis of the reformulations, hesitations, and interruptions of speech as opposed to the analysis of the edited version of the written product. In other words, the fragmented appearance of conversation is an artefact of the transcription (Halliday 1989:77), and the integrated appearance of fiction is due to the fact that the process of composition is completely ignored in textual analysis. In discussing the relation between conversational and fictional discourse, I will disregard conversation features such as reformulations, hesitations, or interruptions because the corresponding features of fictional discourse, i.e. deletions, corrections, or breaks in the production, are edited out and do not appear in the final textual product. If such features are depicted in literary dialogue, they do not signify hesitations or breaks in the actual process of production, i.e. in the author's activity of composing the fictional dialogue.

Conversational and fictional discourse share a number of formal properties that tend to be regarded as essentially literary. These features fall into two categories in terms of their purposes in conversation. The first category comprises formal features such as the repetition of words and sounds, syntactic structures like parallelism, and rhythm or scanning. These features serve as a means to achieve coherence in ordinary conversation

(Tannen 1990:15). To a qualified degree, these features are responsible for the choreographical structure of conversation. The other category of formal properties shared by conversation and fiction includes features such as figures of speech, tropes, imagery, direct quotation, attention to detail, and ellipsis or indirectness. They share in the creation of involvement and dynamics in conversation, and they are employed by fiction writers to the same end.

Another major characteristic which is shared by conversation and fiction, but which is not regarded as essentially literary, is the juxtaposition of usually separate linguistic features as, for instance, the occasional use of a formal register in an informal speech situation (Crystal & Davy 1969:104). However, I do not agree with Crystal and Davy here that conversation and fiction are the only genres in which a comparable flexibility may be found: personal letters, jokes, and drama can also display a juxtaposition of such features for special effects.

Conversation and fiction both intend to move the addressees and to involve them interpersonally in the creation of conversation and the re-creation of meaning in fiction: conversation and fiction use essentially the same means for basically the same purposes.

What makes literary language different from conversational language is that, in literary discourse, the formal features which are spontaneously produced in conversation, are artfully used and in a sense manipulated by the author. The formal characteristics of conversation are elaborated and refined to suit the written mode. Since the formal characteristics themselves are essentially the same in conversational and fictional discourse, it seems reasonable to argue that fiction is that type of written mode which is most similar to, but not identical with, casual conversation.

6.2 THE REPRESENTATION OF CONVERSATION IN LITERARY DISCOURSE

6.2.1 STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CONVERSATION

6.2.1.1 Features of unplanned non-fluent speech

Conversation is sequential: it does not emerge in a steady stream of speech, but in short segments separated by hesitations and pauses, and by communicative sounds without lexical status such as *er* or *um*. These features of normal non-fluency (Leech & Short 1981:161) represent an organic part of unplanned spoken language. They may help to carry forward a satisfactory conversation even though they can occasionally also be an impediment to communicative success. The continuity of speech depends on the amount of involuntary hesitations and pauses (O'Donnell & Todd 1980:68). A large number of such breaks of the flow of speech can thus impair its fluency.

Hesitations take the form of stumblings, false and new starts, and self-interruptions. Pauses arise when the speaker is looking for the right expression. Pauses can remain empty, or they can be filled by discourse markers such as *I mean*, *you know*, *you see*, or by conventional non-lexical fillers such as *er*. Filled pauses grant the speaker time to think without having to yield the floor. Halliday (1989:39) observes accurately that pauses are not on the whole associated with grammatical boundaries.

In spontaneous unplanned speech, phrases tend to be linked by simple conjugations such as *and* or *but*, sometimes in polysyndetic co-ordination, sometimes consisting of

asyndetic sections. Expletives such as *well* or *oh* signal the start of a new segment of speech. Colloquial repetition, echoing and overlaps between speakers, tag constructions, insertions, and grammatically incomplete sentences with verbal omissions like verb deletion or ellipsis also characterise unplanned conversation. However, such features do not usually impair the addressees' understanding of the utterance because the partners to the conversation share the physical and temporal speech situation. Grammatical inconsistencies and self-corrections may be manifestations of anacoluthon. However, these details of unplanned non-fluent conversation are not as important for the representation of conversation in fiction as the following structural characteristics.

6.2.1.2 Prosodic Features

Prosodic or suprasegmental features are distinct characteristics of the spoken medium which cannot be individually segmented from spoken utterances. They carry systematic contrasts in meaning. Prosodic features are spread across extended portions of speech (Halliday 1989:30). They include intonation, pitch, stress and rhythm.

Intonation is the melodic movement of speech. It is created by the rise and fall of pitch. Intonation directly expresses grammatical contrast (Halliday 1989:48): the meaning of grammatically identical sentences can be changed by the intonation pattern of the utterance. For instance, a question can be put into a declarative form but will be recognised as a question by the rising pitch at the end of the utterance despite its grammatical form. However, intonation has no lexical function in English, as it does in tonal languages such as Chinese.

Pitch is a musical form of emphasis. It is involved in the creation of speech melody

and intonation distinctions. Every speaker has an individual relative pitch height. The extent of pitch movement within the speaker's melody of speech has to be seen in relation to his or her normal pitch height. A relatively high pitch for instance may indicate excitement or fear. Deviations from the (relative) pitch height have to be measured against the individual's norm (O'Donnell & Todd 1983:67).

Stress is a dynamic form of emphasis by which syllables and words become prominent (Knowles 1992:988). Apart from the phonetic prominence of stressed syllables, linguists also distinguish word stress, sentence stress and contrastive stress. Word stress ensures that the stress of a particular syllable in a word is responsible for a particular meaning of the word. For instance, word stress accounts for the distinction between noun and verb in *produce*, *record*, *construct* and other words, where the respective noun has the stress on the first syllable, whereas the verb has the stress on the final syllable. Sentence stress denotes the process by which some words in an utterance are made prominent; generally, these are lexical words, as e.g. in the utterance *this is the END of the STORY*. Contrastive stress is responsible for a particular meaning of the utterance which overrides the normal pattern of word stress, as in *THIS is the end of the story*¹¹.

Rhythm is the beat of the language which gives it organisation in time (Halliday 1989:48). In stress-timed languages such as English, rhythm is created by the regular or rhythmic occurrence of stressed syllables. Phrasing (and pausing) also share in the creation of speech rhythm. Prosodic features then are systematic linguistic properties of spoken language which, when deviating from the relative norm of the individual speaker, create a contrastive meaning.

¹¹ For a more detailed discussion and examples of the use of stress and intonation cf. Brazil (1975).

6.2.1.3 Paralinguistic Features

Paralanguage refers to non-systematic aspects of vocal, gestural, and bodily expressions which convey meaning. Paralinguistic features constitute a means of varying, complementing or counterpointing articulation, phonation, and body language, which is within the control of the individual. Although paralinguistic features are additional variants, they nevertheless constitute an organic part of spoken language and they are as much part of the total message of an utterance as its phonological, lexical, grammatical and prosodic features. Paralanguage includes vocal variation of timbre, volume and tempo, and non-vocal kinetic variation. Timbre or voice quality manifests itself for example in a husky, a creaky, or a nasal tone of voice. Again, it is the departure from the individual's norm that is significant in terms of timbre, but also with regard to volume or loudness. Whispering, for example, suggests that a secret or intimate piece of information is passed on, whereas a relatively loud voice is typically associated with anger or excitement. Tempo becomes significant when it deviates from the speaker's norm. The variation of tempo adds some information to the message; pressure of time can be suggested by an increase in the tempo of speaking.

Kinetics refers to non-verbal features like facial expression, gesture, posture, eye contact, and physical contact – in short, to body language. A speaker's facial expression indicates his attitude to the propositional context of his utterance. Gesture involves mainly the arms and the hands, e.g. to emphasise a strong point, but also motions like a shrug of the shoulder to indicate indifference. Many gestures are conventionalised, as for example a nod to show agreement or the shaking of one's head to signal objection or disbelief. Posture very much indicates the speaker's intention with regard to his

interlocutor. A comfortable posture can imply the intention to stay for a while, whereas sitting on the edge of one's seat signals the intention of imminent departure. A change of posture rather than a particular posture can suggest the beginning or the end of a speaker's contribution. This also applies to eye contact: having looked away from one's addressee for most of the time, keeping steady eye contact may indicate that the speaker is ready to yield the floor (O'Donnell & Todd 1980:70). Also, a rather steady eye contact between the participants in a conversation suggests a degree of intimacy, whereas a lack of eye contact, particularly on the side of the speaker, may signal insecurity or concentration. Physical contact finally refers to conventions like shaking hands on being introduced, and to motions like tugging at somebody's sleeve to arouse attention. Within limits, paralinguistic features are under the control of the individual speaker.

6.2.1.4 Indexical features

Indexical features are individual non-linguistic characteristics of a speaker which reveal for example his or her age, sex and personality through pitch range, resonance and tension. A speaker's indexical features form a pattern which displays his or her identity; it is possible to identify one's conversation partner from the simple 'hello' at the other end of a telephone line. Indexical features are outside the individual's control.

6.2.1.5 Phatic communion

The term phatic communion denotes communicative acts with an exclusively social function. Through phatic communion a certain atmosphere is established and social contact is maintained. Phatic communion is used to show rapport between the

participants in a conversation. It includes both conventionalised remarks and enquiries about health and the weather, and non-lexical, semantically empty responses like *h-hm*. A possible variety of phatic communion sometimes signals that the addressee is following the speaker's contribution. This is particularly frequent in telephone conversations as a kind of reassuring noise when the conversation partners do not share a physical context and need to rely on verbal means to ensure communicative success. Generally speaking, phatic communion is a signal of the addressee's willingness to co-operate socially with the speaker rather than an attempt at exchanging information (O'Donnell & Todd 1980:79).

6.2.2 STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LITERARY DISCOURSE

6.2.2.1 Organisation in space

The features discussed below can be considered as opportunities for compensation, since they do not occur in speech, or indeed as innovative developments going beyond the representation of speech. Printed fictional texts like novels or short stories are commonly organised in various segments of text and not in one single, very long paragraph. Some novels, as for instance James Kelman's *How Late It Was How Late*, only have paragraphs as a structuring device. Optionally, a novel can be subdivided into parts, as e.g. George Friel's *Mr Alfred MA* and Alan Spence's *Its Colours They Are Fine*, and into chapters. The latter are recognisable either by verbal headings, as in *Its Colours They Are Fine*, or by cardinal numbers, as *Mr Alfred MA*. Every chapter consists of a

number of paragraphs. A paragraph may consist of nothing more than a single sentence, as e.g. in "She boggled." or "Rose shook her head." (Friel 1987:105), or in "Shuggie thought for a moment" (Spence 1996:71). Where a new line marks a new speaker's contribution, one paragraph may consist of a sentence fragment only, as for instance where Sammy and another inmate are discussing prison meal times:

I thought it was set times.
Did ye?
Well I was expecting that.
Right.
Is it no usually?
Ye any smokes left?
Nah. (Kelman 1994:193)

The beginning of a paragraph is usually marked by indentation, i.e. the first line of text begins further in from the left margin than the other lines. Usually, a new paragraph starts with a new sentence, but this is not necessarily the case:

But it didnae matter about that, not the now. He just
christ almighty
he just had to be doing something ... (Kelman 1994:74)

Here, Sammy's train of thoughts is interrupted by an exclamation which might well be a part of his direct speech¹².

There are no rules as to the size and content of a paragraph. McArthur (1992:749) rightly points out that the creation of a paragraph depends not only on its content and its logical relationship with the preceding and the following paragraphs, but just as much on visual balance and on layout.

Some novelists like Kelman use white spaces or a line of dots between paragraphs for

¹² Direct speech markers are omitted throughout the novel.

special effects, for example for silence between conversation partners:

Ye more or less says it was your colleagues gave ye the sightloss.

...

Silence was the answer. (Kelman 1994:164)

Right; aye well ... the thing is, ye shouldnay call people names; that's the thing, ye have to watch that ... Sammy sniffed. Know what I'm saying son it's a thing to watch for.

...

It was my brother telt us, said Keith. (Kelman 1994:345)

In the first example, the comment "Silence was the answer" seems to be Kelman's way of educating his readers about this device, whereas in the second example such a narratorial intervention appears redundant.

Another effect of the creation of white spaces between words and at the beginning and end of a line is to give the impression of the graphic layout of graffiti, such as

TONGS YA BASS	GOUCHO	PEG OK
FLEET YA BASS	YY TOI	
		TOWN OK
	HOODS YA BASS	CODY YYS
		SHAMROCK LAND

(Friel 1987:167)

A common device to indicate prosodic characteristics (of various kinds) is the use of varying typefaces. A number of different functions can be catalogued. Thus, capital letters can suggest an increase in **loudness**, as in "Mat started to shout. 'Inspector! IN-SPEC-TOR!'" (Hind 1985:175), or a particular **intonation**, as in "En-RI-co I-a-NEL-lo!" (Friel 1987:88), where the capital letters indicate the stressed syllables of the Italian shop-owner's name. In "Although it didnay just HAPPEN I mean it didnay just

HAPPEN" (Kelman 1994:172), the capital letters signal the **sentence stress**. The capitalisation in the reproach "An will ye go an ... DO somethin ABOUT yerself!" (Spence 1996:116) gives an impression of the **contrastive stress** of the utterance.

Of course, capital letters are not confined to representing prosodic features. They are also used for **graffiti**, e.g. in "EVEN THEM WHO RULE SUPREME" (Friel 1987:94) and "REBELS YA BASS YY GRINGO TIGERS" (Friel 1987:167). It has to be pointed out, though, that the capitals in the representation of graffiti in the text are merely representing capitals in the antecedent written reality, whereas the use of capitals to represent e.g. loudness is a means of capturing a spoken reality in the written text. Capitals are also used for **newspaper headings**, as in "'IT'S ALL MY FAULT' said the thirtytwo point caption" (Friel 1987:115), as well as for **abbreviations** such as "KDRF: Kick Door Run Fast" (Spence 1996:72). Again, capital letters can serve to distinguish words and action. In a scene in *Its Colours They Are Fine* a mother slaps her little daughter for running into the street without looking and nearly getting knocked down by a bike: "'Ye might uv' THUMP 'got fuckin' THUMP 'KILLT' THUMP THUMP" (Spence 1996:64).

The restrained use of italics to mark words the author wishes to highlight or emphasise is, of course, an established practice of novel writing (and, indeed, of other kinds of writing as well). In 19th century novels in particular, italics could be used to indicate that the respective word or expression belonged to a different language, or a different social, regional or functional language variety from the words in normal typeface. In George Mills's *The Beggar's Benison* (1866), words like "*wee-est*" (I 102), "*thrawn*" (I 250), "*gowk*" (II 167), "*bane*" (II 168) and "*blate*" (II 178) are italicised because they are Scots

rather than Standard English; other areas involve "*beaks*" (I 139), a British English slang item, and "*doch an dorch*" (I20), the Scotticised (mis-)spelling of a Gaelic expression. The italicising of lexical items not only marks them as differing in one way or another from the rest of the text, but signals that the author is aware of this fact and that he distances himself from such usage. Of course, the question of how much of this practice of italicising certain lexical items is due to the writer and how much to the editor or the publisher's house style also has to be raised in these cases. Comparisons of manuscripts with printed editions as well as between different printed editions are often revealing in this respect¹³.

In more recent novels, italicisation has come to indicate various kinds of paralinguistic features, including some of those mentioned above in relation to capitalisation. For instance, in "Honest tae God, it was *that* size ..." (Spence 1996:211) the italics signal the sentence stress. A very general function of italics is the signalling of an expression having a graphic status beyond or ancillary to the present printed text. Pub names, song titles, film titles, book and newspaper titles as well as newspaper headlines are often set in italics too: in *How Late It Was How Late*, the pub names *Glancy's*, *Quinn's Bar* and *The Blazer* (Kelman 1994:74,265,45), and the song titles *Crazy* (170) and *Goodhearted Woman* (288) are italicised. In *Its Colours They Are Fine*, the film *The Sound of Music* is mentioned (Spence 1996:66); *Dance of the Apprentices* has *Hamlet* (Gaitens 1948:41), and the Salvation Army publication *The War Cry* and the comics *FBI*, *Superman* and *Sergeant Rock* are mentioned in *Its Colours They Are Fine* (Spence 1996:103). Newspapers mentioned are the *Herald* (Friel 1987:135) and the *Evening Times* (Gaitens

¹³ Cf. for instance Hewitt (1985).

1990:81), and newspaper headlines which appear in italics include *Mother Demands Enquiry* and *Banned Boy Tries Again* (Friel 1987:43).

More characteristically of the fictional genre, italics serve to mark or highlight a character's thoughts or dreams as in "*The same old song. I should have realised it was a dream, for although I was in it ... They put the electrodes to my head ...*", (Spence 1996:195-197), or a piece of writing or typescript produced by one of the characters, as for instance in:

I look at the paper and start to write ... *Last day of another year and I sit at the window looking down over Hill Street, out across the city. Glasgow ...* I write for a while then get up ... (Hind 1985:12-13)

In this function, italicisation provides a visual contrast to the generally roman typeface of the novel for something which is textually distinct anyway.

A variety of more commonly employed visual conventions can be recognised in the signalling of dialogue. The practice of indenting every speaker's contribution and giving a new paragraph to every new speaker has become the most common way of separating off dialogue from the narrative. The convention of representing turn-taking in conversation by a new paragraph for a new speaker only began to establish itself from the 19th century (McArthur & Chapman 1992:302), though in 20th century novels we still find (often with distinctive effects) different speakers' contributions embedded in the same paragraph. Furthermore, fiction writers have increasingly come to abandon formulas such as 'he said' and have left it to the reader to keep track of the respective speakers. The representation of a stretch of conversation without the conventional use of quotation marks or inverted commas brings the dialogue closer to the form of dramatic script. Another effect of this practice is that, typographically in the hands of certain

writers, in particular James Kelman, direct speech can seem virtually indistinguishable from the narrative and from thoughts:

Ye just had to think, ye had to fucking think to get yourself out it. The trouble is most cunts arenay able to think. Including Sammy, let's be honest, a bit of honesty. Okay. He turned the music up loud; loud. (Kelman 1994:288)

Indentation and new lines are the only markers of turn-taking, but can coincide with the insertion into the actual conversation of a piece of narrative:

Ye've got a cupboard full of dress-shirts. Still in their cellophane wrappers.
I bought them.
Ye bought them!
They're all different sizes.
We know they are all different sizes Sammy.
Somebody else in the room started laughing.
I bought them cheap.
That's a surprise.
Cause I thought I could punt them.
... (Kelman 1994:76)

The distinction between direct speech and thoughts can also be almost indiscernible:

Aye, he said, I didnay mention it but she's away a visit the now; the girlfriend, she's down seeing her weans.
Aw right.
Her first marriage and that, the weans live with her ex.
Ahh.
See they're at school and that so I mean she didnay want them to interrupt it, their studies, if she had brought them to Glasgow.
Aye I know what ye're saying.
He's alright but, her husband, her ex, I'm no saying nothing against the guy.
Fucking bullshit man Helen's husband was a total bampot of the first order.
What was he saying all this crap for there was nay need for it it was just fucking nonsense, he should have stuck on the music.
(Kelman 1994:148)

Craig (1993:103) aptly describes the effect of Kelman's sparse marking of direct speech and his refusal to use graphological speech markers as follows: "The text is designed visually to resist the moment of arrest in which the reader switches between the

narrative voice of the text and the represented speech of a character." In this way, a linguistic equality between dialogue and narrative is established, and the dichotomy between the language of narration and that of dialogue passages is resolved. At the same time, speech becomes typographically all but indistinguishable from interior monologue.

6.2.2.2 Punctuation

By linking and separating words, phrases and clauses, punctuation indicates that sequences of words form an associated group. Based mainly on grammatical structure, punctuation serves as a support for syntax. It assists in clarifying the meaning of complex sentences by giving the different syntactical elements a hierarchical structure (Allen & McArthur 1992:826). The syntactic functions of punctuation are boundary marking, status marking and relation marking (Halliday 1989:33). Word boundaries are marked by white spaces between each word, whereas sentence boundaries are signalled by a sentence-final full stop, a question mark, or an exclamation mark. The use of particular punctuation marks determines the grammatical type of the sentence, as a statement, question, exclamation, or command. Punctuation marks such as hyphens, dashes, and parentheses signal the relation between different parts of a sentence, between two sentences, between paragraphs, and between the narrative and an "aside". In this sense, punctuation has a grammatical function: it enables stretches of written language to be read coherently by displaying their syntactic structure (Crystal 1995:278).

Apart from having the syntactical function of marking boundaries, status, and relation, punctuation is also important in partially compensating for the absence of intonation in writing. In this way, the use of a hyphen can serve to avoid ambiguity between phrases

like "twenty-odd people" and "twenty odd people".

The prosodic function of punctuation is especially important when directly representing the intonation and emphasis of spoken language e.g. by giving clues through the use of question marks or exclamation marks (Crystal 1995:278). The discourse function of an utterance rather than its syntactic form is indicated by the punctuation mark which concludes it. The sentence "'You know what he said to me once?'" (Friel 1987:96) has the grammatical form of a statement, but the question mark at the end suggests its discourse function as one of eliciting. The question mark at the end of "'Think you're somebody?'" (Friel 1987:95) signals that the directive, or at least ambiguous, grammatical form of the utterance has the communicative function of inquiring. Punctuation marks can indicate the intonation of utterances as well as of a single word without any syntactical framework (Chapman 1989:100), as for instance in "'Indeed?' he said" (Friel 1987:68). Punctuation and paragraphs, which account for the structure of a written text, do not generally correspond to the phrasing of casual speech. In fact, the notion of sentence pertains primarily to the written medium and, as noted above, sentence types and communicative functions do not invariably correlate. The grammatical categories declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatory *can* correspond to the discourse functions of stating, eliciting, directing, and exclaiming, but these functions can also be served in a variety of different grammatical ways. Form under-determines function, but the use of punctuation assists in signalling the intended discursive function even of a single word.

Some punctuation marks serve to link and at the same time keep separate identifiable words, phrases, clauses and sentences, depending on the way and the context in which

they are used. The succession of phrases linked by **commas** in "and ye hold yer eyes shut, tight shut, the face all tensed up, teeth clenched, ..." (Kelman 1994:38) gives an impression of the separate chunking and closure (with down-fall and pauses) of each idea unit. The succession of phrases in this example also suggests the intensity and tension which would arguably not have been achieved by the use of conjunctions as a link between phrases. Commas are also used for the listing of elements, as in:

In bus shelters, railway stations and tenement closes, on factory-walls and shop-fronts, on telephone-boxes, junction-boxes, police-boxes and pillar-boxes, outside churches, libraries, offices, schools and warehouses, on the back of the seats upstairs on the buses, with the rexine ripped off to show plain wood, wherever there was a wall or a hoarding, a gang-name and YA BASS were flaunted. (Friel 1987:124)

Dashes are another device that can serve a linking function, as for example in "(Mouthful of dirt – becoming mud – grit between the teeth)" (Spence 1996:55). Here, dashes join grammatically unconnected phrases to suggest a kind of chronological sequence of events in a reminiscence. However, dashes more commonly have a separating function, as for example in "A lot of people just say, Get to fuck – pardon the language, it's a quote – they just want to die and get out the road" (Kelman 1994:297). Here the dashes enclose a phrase which signals that the speaker, Sammy's legal representative, who is deliberately attuning his register to Sammy, interrupts himself to let Sammy know in an aside that this is not his normal usage. A dash may also be used to give a kind of broken effect, e.g. to show the interruption of a stretch of speech, as in:

'You mean you still –' Mr Brown began.

'A man's never too old,' Mr Dale tactfully interrupted. (Friel 1987:79)

A pause or silence may be signalled by **aposiopesis**, as for instance in "I've lost my bearings. ... Any chance of pointing me round the shops?" (Kelman 1994:129). The same

punctuation mark can also indicate self-interruption and hesitation: "Mind you – now...doesnay matter, though of course...mmm, okay, fine" (Kelman 1994:313), or "'It's no like ... How kin ah explain it?'" (Spence 1996:157).

Hyphens are often used for compounds, e.g. in "blind-as-a-bat Sammy" (Kelman 1994:284), or in "She was airy-mannered, brisk-moving, swift-speaking, and fully fashionable" (Friel 1987:138). **Parentheses** are characteristically employed for passages of text which are meant as a side-comment interpolated in the text. They are used frequently for passages of varying length in *Its Colours They Are Fine*. Sometimes they only enclose a line or two containing the narrator's or a character's thoughts, as in a scene where Aleck and Joe are scraping their initials in the pavement on a hot afternoon: "(The way the tar opened under the pressure – glistening black star on the pavement's dusty grey – initials – names)" (Spence 1996:34). Sometimes the text between parentheses takes up several pages at a time, e.g. where the brackets enclose a reminiscence by the narrator (Spence 1987:187-191).

Crystal (1995:278) also mentions that the use, for instance, of colons versus semi-colons can highlight semantic units or contrasts which are present in the text but not directly related to its grammatical structure. In the sense that such punctuation marks show the rhetorical structure of a complex sentence, they serve a rhetorical function. Finally, Crystal (1995:278) points out that the use of punctuation marks such as quotation marks or inverted commas may add to the semantic dimension by showing that a word or phrase has a special sense. This function of emphasising semantic nuances is conspicuous e.g. in McArthur's *No Mean City*. Not only do non-standard

lexical items such as "rinnin' doon the stair" (1957:8), "stairheid" (1957:33) or "one of the hairy" (1957:31) appear in inverted commas in the narrative, but also standard lexical items such as "drunk" (1957:23), "families" (1957:58), "superior" (1957:68) or "education" (1957:85). The use of inverted commas for these words and expressions not only signals that in their respective contexts they take on a particular meaning, but also the author's distanced attitude.

6.2.2.3 Verbal Comments

Apart from punctuation marks, fiction writers rely on verbal descriptions and reports outside the actual dialogue to indicate prosodic and paralinguistic features. Introductory and tagging phrases are inserted in the narrative to give the reader an impression of such things as the discourse meaning, the intonation, and the loudness of utterances. For instance, to give just a handful of examples, the introductory comments "Mrs Macdonnel was moaning 'Oh, ma heid! Ma heid!'" (Gaitens 1990:15), "She scolded him: 'I thought you had more sense than to talk to reporters!'" (Friel 1987:47) and "He waved his fist and shouted at them. 'Goan! Get dahn ourra that!'" (Spence 1996:48) signal that the various spoken utterances are introduced as a complaint, a scolding and a threat respectively.

Descriptive details and verbal comments are frequently interpolated after a character's utterance. Examples of such descriptive details added by the narrator (and focussing on such things as tone, attitude and illocutionary quality) are found in abundance: "'They eat babies an aw!' said Peter mocking" (Spence 1996:88), "John leant over him and said with feigned seriousness; 'My, you're a nice fella, lettin' us doon like this!'" (Gaitens 1990:177), "'But, my dear chap!' said Neil in a tone which implied patient long-suffering

with faulty reasoning" (Gaitens 1990:45), and "Och, there's naething wrong wi' ma hair nor ma een, mother,' Neil exclaimed irritably" (Gaitens 1990:91). The voice quality or timbre of a speaker is described by verbal comments for example in *Dance of the Apprentices* in "Ay, it was good,' he admitted in a hesitating, reflective voice" (1990:96), "Ay,' said the boxer in his quiet voice" (1990:69), "Ay!' wheezed Mrs Houston" (1990:15) and "Ay, it's a grand thing the vinegar!' oboed Mrs Houston" (1990:16). The locutionary quality or manner of an utterance may also be indicated by narratorial formulas, as in "Just before they entered the close, Joe stopped them with a whispered 'Jist a minnit!'" (Spence 1996:75), "'What's all this?' he boomed" (Gaitens 1990:86), "Ha, that was damn guid!' cried Paddy Maguire with terrific relief" (Gaitens 1990:96), or "'Lemme alane,' he shouted" (Hind 1985:43).

Occasionally, a fiction writer draws the reader's attention to a particular rhythmic stretch of speech. For example, in a football match between classmates in which two boys heavily collide, the stress pattern of the ensuing exclamation of one of the boys is emphasised by the observation that the boy was "easing [the pain] by spitting out a steady rhythmic barrage at Les. 'Gan ya durty fuckin black enamel bastard ye!'" (Spence 1996:50). Without drawing attention to the underlying trochaic metre of this exclamation, it might have passed unnoticed by the reader how well this stress pattern suits the content. Sometimes the rhythm of an utterance is pointed out by the narrator, e.g. where Jake is teasing Mat and Mat takes a jotter and "beat[s] time on Jake's head with each syllable. 'There's – nae – use – talking – to – you – at – all.'" (Hind 1985:76). In *Mr Alfred MA* the actual meter and its function in a very prosaic context are

mentioned explicitly by the narrator. The scene involves Gerald thumping his little sister for not frying sausages for him.

The anapaests of his bawling were hammered out by his punches. 'Aye, you'll do what I say and jump up when I speak for you know I'm your boss and you've got to obey!' Eight scalpular blows. (Friel 1987:4)

So verbal comments and punctuation are the means by which fiction writers signal important prosodic and paralinguistic features since they cannot be rendered directly in the written medium.

6.2.3 THE REPRESENTATION OF DIALOGUE IN FICTION

The representation of dialogue in fiction has been described variously as idealisation, reconstruction, simulation, translocation or translation¹⁴. Before discussing the question of what kind of process the representation of conversation in literary discourse actually is, I will briefly look at the aims, constraints and methods of this process.

6.2.3.1 Aims

Dialogue is an important contribution to the communicative effect of a novel in that it conveys information necessary for the reader: dialogue relates interactions and carries forward the plot. Also, dialogue as conversational interaction offers the opportunity to depict characters independently of narratorial intervention. At the same time, features of a character's personality can be conveyed through his personal communicative

¹⁴ Cf. p.219 below.

interaction with other characters. The purposes of the use of dialogue are thus closely related to the fictional discourse itself, i.e. to plot, characterisation, and interaction.

Although authenticity may well be an aim of representing dialogue, the terms authenticity, plausibility and realism are strictly relative (Page 1973:86). It is not generally the primary purpose of fictional conversation to be materially or substantially accurate. In the representation of dialogue in fiction, the focus tends to be on the content of the verbal interaction rather than on the way in which it is conveyed, unless the representation itself carries a particular meaning. The aim of veracity tends to be outweighed by literary and aesthetic considerations as well as by the interests of the reader.

Literary conversation is constructed with the reader in mind. But a reader is rarely inclined to make the leap between direct speech as presented to him in the written medium and actual conversation as overheard in the spoken medium (Chapman 1984:22). The gap between presentation and authenticity tends to pass unnoticed. Also, a reader expects different results from the dialogue in a novel than from an overheard conversation, namely information about hitherto unrelated events, an advancement of the plot and the characterisation of key figures rather than an interactive situational communicative event. A reader will moreover assume that relevant or typical details of a character's speech are in fact presented, and that the narrative supplies sufficient information for the reader to follow the fictional conversation.

6.2.3.2 Constraints

An authentic representation of dialogue in the written medium is impossible because

the complexity of a conversation situation cannot be reproduced adequately in the written medium. Even a phonetic transcription lacks information on the conversation situation and on the paralinguistic and indexical features of its participants. However, since the purposes of representing dialogue in fiction are quite different from those of a naturally occurring conversation, the question of authenticity is not an issue itself. The constraints imposed on the representation of speech in the written medium are thus not necessarily a deficiency.

The dynamism and the immediacy of contact in an oral speech situation are lost when they are transferred to the written medium. Also, prosodic and paralinguistic features can only be described verbally and with the assistance of punctuation, i.e. usually by italics etc., and features of non-fluency can be shown only crudely. If a writer intends to include such features, he has to decide how to present and organise for example overlaps on the page. He also has to ensure that they are presented as part of an unmarked interchange, otherwise the overlaps shown would acquire an unintentional prominence and additional meaning (Hughes 1996:47). However, the presentation of features of non-fluency as precisely and only that with no additional meaning would be an impediment rather than a contribution to literary conversation. In fact, the representation of features of non-fluency would become tiresome for the reader, and it would conceal or at best overshadow the actual purpose of the dialogue as part of which they are represented.

6.2.3.3 Methods

Chapman (1984:15) points out that the author's task is to find "methods of transmitting auditory experience through graphological realisation". This realisation is subject to

three demands: the author has to use the same means for the presentation of speech as for the narrative, i.e. the alphabet rather than a means of phonetic transcription. He has to adopt the conventional system of encoding interaction, so that if he does highlight a conversational feature like a false start or a hesitation, he has to bear in mind that these might acquire a meaning that the context does not demand: deviations from the conventional norm – or from the norm adhered to in that novel – tend to suggest extra meaning. Finally, fiction writers tend to work within the conventions of reader expectations and reader needs. Hence only relatively few features of non-fluency will be represented, and where such features do not suggest anything beyond simple non-fluency, they are not normally displayed in fiction. To claim that these features are "edited out" (Leech & Short 1981:164) is appropriate only in the sense that the writer does not bother with them, but not in the sense that they are cancelled. Features of non-fluency are not present in the fictional text in the first place.

Fiction writers commonly supply only some features characteristic of spoken conversation or of a key figure, as for instance set phrases which help to create an illusion of idiolect (O'Donnell & Todd 1980:134). Often they do so only by means of verbal comments, as in:

'Pardon. What did you say?'

She gave a demonstration of clear speech in her very question. (Friel 1987:108)

A condensed set of salient markers for a character is mostly sufficient to indicate his or her pronunciation or a regional variety. Also, as Page (1973:86) correctly observes, "such signals as the writer invents or borrows to suggest oral quality are utilized with a calculated and entirely justified inconsistency." Every language variety is subject to

variation; code-drifting and -shifting are natural phenomena of everyday speech. Indeed, to represent a character as consistently using the same set of selected dialect features and no others suggests a systematic use of language which is unrealistic. The author's task therefore is to make naturally occurring inconsistencies plausible within the fictional context, not to systematise them. It is left to the imagination of the reader to fill in the gaps and provide the unmarked features himself. This is part of the reader's task of re-creating the dialogue of fiction.

6.2.3.4 Consequences

In fictional conversation the author gives an idealised picture of the coherence of conversation (Leech & Short 1981:164). Although readers often consider modern literary dialogue as extremely realistic, it in fact "distils the wheat of conversation from the chaff of hesitations, fillers, hedges, and repetitions" (Tannen 1990:261) so that it only occasionally represents features of non-fluency. The representation of such features is seen by a reader aware of literary conventions as being marked for a special purpose. The depiction of false starts, hesitations, silences, and pauses in fact acts as an encoded message to the reader, signalling for instance a character's state of mind, as in:

What... naw it isnay fucking normal at all man what ye talking about I mean that's what I'm saying, it isnay fucking normal at all. She goes away for a couple of days now and again; alright, sees her family and that, but that's that - so ye even I mean ye even like eh I mean, fuck sake...her being a woman and that...Sammy shook his head. (Kelman 1994:306)

The discourse markers, fragmented sentences and new starts signal Sammy's growing concern about the fact that his girlfriend has been away for days without leaving a message. Here, these features do not simply render the non-fluency of Sammy's

contribution to the conversation with his rep Ally. The reader is trained to decode such features as being indicative of emotional intensity. Features of non-fluency in fictional dialogue thus do not have the same meaning and do not appear in the same circumstances as in real dialogue. The representation of such features is a narrative convention which has to be interpreted by the reader. As Tannen (1990:277) points out, "literary dialogue can provide a useful symbolic representation of human communication", but not an accurate reconstruction or simulation of real conversation.

However, even where dialogue is presented without features of non-fluency, the reader still makes assumptions about this dialogue. Toolan (1992:34) speaks of the "direct speech fallacy" in this context, i.e. of the assumption that direct speech is or must be an exact reproduction, without reportorial infiltration, of a verbal communication. Dialogue signals such as direct speech markers, however, are literary conventions indicating only that a conversation is being represented. They do not act as a code to signify that the following direct speech is a faithful transcript of an actual conversation. Direct speech in fiction is a literary artefact, not a reproduction of a real speech event. Therefore, to characterise fictional dialogue as a "translocation of the spoken action to the page for creative purposes" (Hughes 1996:38) is at least ambiguous. Since novels are fictional, the presentation of direct speech in them is not related to an anterior speech event (Short 1988:65). To produce imaginary conversation is to render a fictitious dialogue in writing that never took place in spoken reality. Fictional dialogue is designed with different aims, by different methods, and for a different audience from naturally occurring conversation. Its authenticity has to be discussed within the context of the fictional product and cannot be assessed solely on the basis of naturally occurring conversation.

6.3 REGISTER

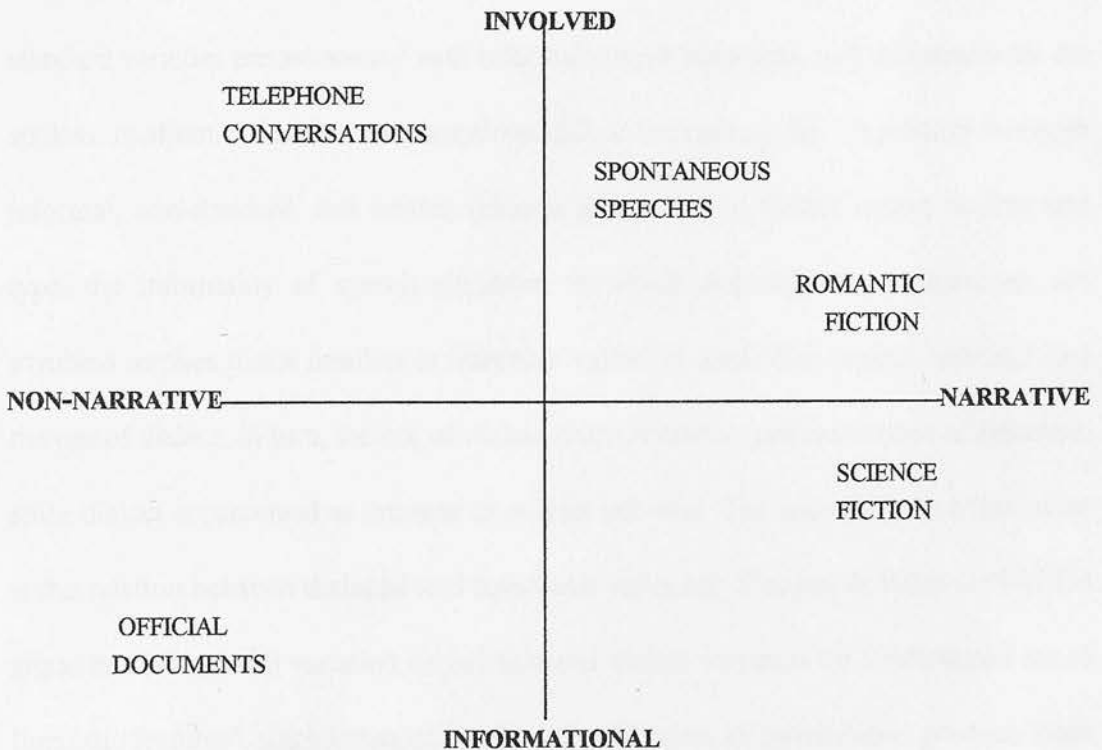
Whereas social and geographical variation is associated with groups of users, functional variation is associated with contexts of use: dialect is user-related and register is use-related. There is a reciprocal influence of the speech situation on the language variety employed and *vice versa*. As Leech and Svartvik (1994:31) observe: "Not only does situation influence the choice of language, but choice of language influences situation – or, more precisely, the nature of the situation as perceived by the speaker and the hearer." For instance, a job interview tends to demand a formal register, but the very use of a formal register by both employer and interviewee in turn accounts for the formal character of this speech situation.

Style is associated with occasional use. It refers to the choice of a particular linguistic unit, e.g. a lexical item or a phrase, from a number of linguistic units with the same referential meaning across different speech situations. The lexical choice depends on the situational context and in the written medium also on the writer's assumptions about his audience (McCarthy 1991:82).

This section focuses on register and the relation between register and dialect, and disregards the question of style: since the term register is used as a cover term for functional variation according to communicative situations (Finegan & Biber 1994:316), it entails stylistic variation. Moreover, "variation across registers involves different linguistic features, rather than semantically neutral variants of a single feature" (Biber & Finegan 1994: 6). Accordingly, register can be viewed in relation to dialect. Both types of language variation are characterised not only by lexical features, but also by

grammatical and phonological ones.

A register, then, is characterised by the co-occurrence of certain features. The different registers established in this way can be placed on a scale or continuum¹⁵. One of the earliest register studies distinguishes frozen, formal, consultative, casual and intimate registers of the spoken language (Joos 1962:15). Later studies take account of the difference between spoken and written language. Finegan & Besnier (1989:450) distinguish two dimensions of register variation, each of which is characterised by two sets of co-occurring features. The two dimensions range from involved to informational (written and spoken) texts on the one axis, and from non-narrative to narrative texts on the other.



¹⁵ While this continuum ranges from more formal to more informal registers, Quirk *et al.* (1985:26) point out the usefulness of pursuing the notion of a common core for unmarked varieties.

However, this model only serves to place different text types along the two dimensions without taking account of different registers within one text type such as fiction.

Leech & Svartvik (²1994:34) propose a model which places written, formal, and polite features on the left hand side of a common core of features, and spoken, informal, and familiar features on the right hand side of the common core. Leech & Svartvik observe that the features on the left tend to go together, as do those on the right. However, the authors also grant that the connection between written, formal, and polite features on the one hand and that between spoken, informal, and familiar features on the other does not always hold. The observation that this connection does tend to hold, though, is reflected in the general assumption that informality is better brought into being in the spoken language than in the written. This assumption ties in with the expectation that non-standard varieties are associated with informal speech situations, and therefore with the spoken medium. But these assumptions fail to recognise the correlation between informal, non-standard, and written features as it exists in dialect fiction. In this text type, the informality of speech situations in which dialect-speaking characters are involved implies that a familiar or informal register is used. This register also includes the use of dialect; in turn, the use of dialect characterises a speech situation as informal, since dialect is perceived as intimate or at least informal. The question then arises: what is the relation between dialectal and functional variation? Finegan & Biber (1994:315) argue that "situational variation underlies social dialect variation for a substantial set of linguistic features", since irrespective of social affiliation, all interlocutors produce more elaborate expressions in "literary' situations" (Finegan & Biber 1994:337). However, I would argue that the reciprocal influence of speech situation and language variation

could suffice as an explanation here: the very use of more elaborate expressions surely characterises the situation as being literary. Also, the observation that middle class speakers develop a wider range of registers (Finegan & Biber 1994:339) rather suggests that social variation underlies or at least correlates with functional variation. Therefore, instead of arguing for the dependency of social on functional variation, I would argue for the interdependence of both.

Lakoff (1982:242) claims that in reading written non-standard dialect, "we cannot help sub-vocalising". She concludes from this observation, which is probably fairly true to experience, that "dialect exists only in oral form". I do not agree with her conclusion that a written text that is not read silently is therefore oral. The reason for sub-vocalising lies in the fact that literate English speakers are so used to reading Standard English that a non-standard variety represented in writing with non-standard spellings can pose problems in terms of reading fluency - but only until the reader has become accustomed to this kind of written representation. In fact, in the early stages of an individual becoming literate in Standard English, sub-vocalising is frequently practised, but nobody would argue that therefore the text which is being read is oral. The difficulty of deciphering a non-standard written variety is purely due to a lack of familiarity and practice. While its representation can disrupt our security about the silent reading associated with standard representation, there is nothing inherently or exclusively oral in non-standard dialect.

Non-standard dialect is not the only language variety to imply an intimate speech situation. The use of slang also characterises a speech situation as informal. Slang is often perceived as pertaining to dialect, in particular when it is associated with a

particular social group such as the urban working class. Indeed, it is not always easy to decide whether a lexical item is urban slang or whether it is a dialect item. There is evidence that slang words and expressions do not invariably have a transitory currency, and that they can be regionally restricted (Agutter & Cowan 1980:54). But as Page (1973:81) correctly observes, slang is not the monopoly of any class. In fact, every class has its own slang. Members of the upper classes are as likely to use slang, for instance, at a cricket match, as members of other social classes are to use it at a football match. Hence, slang is use-related rather than user-related; it is associated with functional or situational rather than social or regional variation. In other words, slang is a register pertaining to informal speech situations.

In terms of dialect fiction, the concept of register is rather unhelpful in that it does not account for the correlation between informality and the written language. Stubbs (1982:42) maintains that dialect poetry (and presumably prose) is so very much the exception to the norm that only the standard variety tends to exist in the written medium. However, he argues, non-standard passages appear within quotation marks and are thus a representation of spoken English. But we need to bear in mind that while fictional dialogue passages are written renditions of the spoken dialect, they are not transcriptions of real spoken dialogue. I would therefore argue that fictional dialect has to be considered as a written variety as well. Moreover, it is not the case that non-standard varieties only appear as direct speech passages in fiction. Instead, complete stories have been written in non-standard English, as for example James Kelman's 'The Hon' and 'Nice To Be Nice', Alex Hamilton's 'Moonlighting' and 'Gallus, Did You say?' and others, and some novels also have dialect representations in the narrative, as for instance

Kelman's *How Late It was How Late*. What is interesting about these dialect texts in terms of register is that the register employed in them is informal or even casual. Since the two features dialect and informal go together in dialect fiction, there is not much point in discussing the question of register separately.

7 GLASGOW DIALECT IN FICTION

"A regional or social dialect is not simply a set of non-standard words and rules for pronunciation and grammar. It is also a set of strategies and norms for language use, rooted in local culture." (Johnstone 1994:91)

7.1 AN IMPLICATIONAL HIERARCHY

7.1.1 IN NATURAL LANGUAGE

All languages and all language varieties are modular in the sense that they consist of self-contained units. A language is characterised linguistically by a certain phonology, lexis and grammar. Every variety of this language in turn exhibits a particular combination of some of the phonological, lexical and grammatical forms of the common language it pertains to. The modules of natural language "in its commonsense, everyday, spontaneous spoken form" (Halliday 1987:142) appear to be registered on different levels of consciousness: for instance, people are more aware of lexical than of grammatical features. Halliday (1987:139) argues that "the patterns we treat as grammatical are those which are buried much deeper below the level of people's consciousness, and so these patterns ... are much harder to become aware of". Halliday adds that "lexical patterns are nearer the surface of consciousness". In this context he recounts an experiment he carried out with his linguistics students in order to explore the more unconscious features of the grammar (Halliday 1987:143). He took down the headlines of a radio news broadcast, then read this text out to his students and asked them to recall it. In response, the students first gave him motifs such as disaster, violence, death and so on, then lists of lexical items used, and finally grammar: first of

all the more exposed parts like word, group and phrase classes, and only finally what Halliday calls hidden or covert grammar involving transitivity patterns and grammatical metaphors. Halliday (1987:144) concludes that meaning, i.e. the semantic level, is attended to before wording, i.e. the lexico-grammatical level. What is important with regard to the modules of a language is the further observation that within the lexicogrammatical level, words are registered before grammar: "If asked to reflect on the wording, we focus on the lexical end of the spectrum: the words, or rather the lexical items – since this is the edge that is nearest the domain of conscious attention. It takes much more effort to attend to the more strictly grammatical zone." (Halliday 1987:143)

As noted above¹, the difference between language and dialect is not one of substance, but one of relation. Accordingly, if Halliday's observation that we register lexis before grammar is true for the common language, it must also hold true for dialects, i.e. varieties of the common language.

7.1.2 IN SPOKEN DIALECT

The perception of spoken dialect will be discussed briefly as a point of comparison for the written representation of dialect in fiction in order to establish whether or not there is a correspondence with the assessment of spoken dialect as a distinctive form of speech.

Since Halliday's concern was with the assessment of meaning and wording only²,

¹ Cf. section 1.1, p.16 above.

² The students were asked to recall only *what* the text said and not how Halliday presented it.

accent did not feature in his experiment. With regard to the assessment and perception of dialect, however, accent has to be taken into account. If there is a hierarchical relationship between lexis and grammar, where does phonology come into the picture?

In Halliday's experiment, speakers of the same language were asked to assess a text read out to them from a standard written version in, no doubt, a non-regional educated accent. For the assessment of spoken dialect, I suggest the adoption of a different procedure. Somebody from outside the speech community is likely to perceive dialect pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar as more distinct – and more easily – than would be the case for a speaker of the dialect in question. When listening to a speaker of the same common language who, however, speaks a dialect different from our own, we tend to perceive the features of this dialect in a certain way. Accent, vocabulary, and grammar are registered by a non-dialect speaker in precisely that order: the unfamiliar accent strikes the outsider's ear first. As Macaulay (1977:5) emphasises, pronunciation is the most easily observable aspect of linguistic behaviour: "it is much simpler to collect evidence of variation in pronunciation than it is to investigate grammatical or lexical differences." I suggest that this is because pronunciation is more continuous than either dialect lexis or non-standard grammar – more continuous in the sense that more of it emerges in a shorter space of time, and in the sense that each segment offers more possibilities of distinctive variation. Cole (1986:6) speaks in this context of the "perpetual saliency" of the phonological level. Dialect lexis will be registered after pronunciation but before instances of non-standard grammar. The very number of dialect words is higher than the number of non-standard grammatical forms one can expect in a stretch of dialect speech, and therefore the probability of registering dialect vocabulary is greater than that of registering non-standard grammatical forms. Also, as Halliday's

experiment has shown, lexis is closer to the region of conscious attention than grammar. The issue of the visibility, so to speak, of non-standard grammatical forms cannot be disregarded. And finally, an outsider listening to dialect speech has to be aware of the standard grammar in the first place in order to notice non-standard grammatical forms. Thus, Quirk *et al.* (1985:17) are correct when they argue that "we generally recognize a different dialect from a speaker's pronunciation or accent before we notice that the vocabulary (or lexicon) is also distinctive. Grammatical variation tends to be less extensive and certainly less obtrusive."

So it can be surmised that Halliday's observation that words are attended to before grammar in the assessment of natural language also holds true for the perception of spoken dialect, as the merely relational difference between language and dialect would already suggest. Furthermore, dialect pronunciation is perceived before both dialect lexis and grammar. Since phonology registers before lexis and – in turn – before grammar, I would argue that there is a certain relationship between the modules of spoken dialect. This relationship can be characterised as an implicational hierarchy³. The concept of implicational hierarchy suggests that certain linguistic units, as for instance the modules phonology, lexis, and grammar, are grouped hierarchically in the following way. Accent registers before dialect lexis, and dialect lexis registers before non-standard grammar. Everything later in the scale implies the occurrence of everything earlier in the scale. This entails that non-standard grammar is not perceived on its own without attention to accent and dialect lexis. On the other hand, accent can be registered without attending to either dialect lexis or non-standard grammar, and accent and dialect lexis can be

³ I have borrowed the notion of implicational hierarchy from J.R. Ross (1973:157).

perceived without also registering non-standard grammar.

Given that there is indeed an implicational hierarchy between the phonology, lexis and grammar of a spoken dialect as perceived by a non-dialect speaker, the question arises whether such a hierarchy can also be expected in written representations of fictional dialect.

7.1.3 IN WRITTEN FICTIONAL DIALECT

Of course, there is a significant difference between the perception of dialect by a non-dialect speaker and by someone writing fictional dialect: presumably the latter is a dialect speaker himself, or at least somebody who is very familiar with the dialect he is writing. This is certainly true for the authors discussed in this study⁴. In 19th century fiction in particular, some authors represented dialect in writing without being familiar with it. An example from Glasgow fiction of the failure to represent a regional dialect authentically is George Mills's *The Beggar's Benison* (1866). Set in the Goosedubbs slum district of Glasgow, this novel is about an anonymous hero who rises from slum boy to successful businessman and Baillie. The dialect represented can hardly be said to be regionally restricted. All instances of non-standard spelling indicate only General Scots pronunciation features. The digraph <ae> in <nae> (II 2) and <sae> (I 20) to indicate [e:] and the use of apostrophes to signal v-deletion in <gi'e> (I 18), <ha'> (I 101) or <ha'e> (II 253), l-vocalisation in <awfu'> (I 89) and consonant deletion in <wi'> (I 20)

⁴ Apart from Robin Jenkins, who was born in Cambuslang, all other authors whose works are discussed are natives of Glasgow.

or <himself> (I 25) do not suggest any particular regional or indeed local accent. The dialect vocabulary does not typically pertain to West Central Scots, let alone to Glaswegian, although it includes a number of dialect words also used in West Central Scots. The Scots wordstock is taken from a variety of regions of Lowland Scotland; for example <bowse> (*to bounce*) (I 63) is used in Banff and Angus, and <younker> (*youngster*) (I 63) in Northern, East Central and Ayrshire Scots, but not in West Central Scots⁵. No non-standard grammatical forms are depicted at all. Since Mills does not seek to give a materially accurate representation of Glaswegian, this kind of dialect representation serves its purpose. The author's intention is to demonstrate the sociolinguistic contexts of urban dialect usage, to disapprove of its speakers and to show the middle and upper classes' disdain for both the dialect and its speakers.

Twentieth-century Glasgow fiction authors, with the possible exception of J.J. Bell⁶, are successful (to varying degrees) in demonstrating their familiarity with the Glasgow dialect. The authors whose works are discussed in this study can thus be characterised as insiders. Accordingly, the question of whether it is appropriate to compare a non-dialect speaker's perception of a spoken dialect with its written representation by a dialect speaker merits detailed discussion.

⁵ Cf. entries in both *CSD* and *SND*.

⁶ The language variety he depicts in *Wee MacGregor* (1902) is General Scots rather than West Central or indeed Glaswegian, as a random quote like "Ye sud ha'e been sleepin' lang syne" (Bell 1977:63) demonstrates. The frequent representation of <ch> for [ç] and [χ], e.g. in <lichthoose> (48), <ticht> (49), <thocht> (56) and <laucht> (24) (*laughed*), as well as an abundance of interjections like "Tits", "Hoots, toots", "Deed, ay" or "Och ay" make the dialogue appear very stylised and hence not authentic. The (modern) reader gets the impression that Bell strove to pack every possible stereotype of Scots pronunciation, lexis and grammar into his novel - but it is precisely this exuberance of indiscriminately Scots forms and their unrealistically frequent and consistent occurrence which renders the dialogue in *Wee MacGregor* implausible.

An outsider tends to assess the written representation of dialect on the basis of the written standard variety. An insider assesses the written representation of his own dialect from his knowledge of the salient and covert features of this dialect. However, an insider *represents* his dialect in writing on the basis of what he is familiar with in terms of the written language: Standard English. In this sense, the dialect speaker who writes fictional dialect approaches the written representation in the same way as a non-dialect speaker registers spoken and written dialect: as somebody who is, at first, familiar with a different language variety; a different dialect in speech and Standard English in writing. Thus, a dialect author tends to represent his fictional dialect on the basis of (and in contrast with) Standard English. Since it is writing, the key issue is the role or value of conventions of spelling and of Standard English lexis and grammar.

Obviously, a writer of dialect fiction has to take more factors into consideration than the material accuracy of dialect representation. These factors include the questions of which of the characters speak dialect, when, where and why, and the important issue of how far an author can risk losing his audience through his representation of non-standard language. That is, literary and aesthetic concerns and decisions pertaining to the potential readership decisively influence the way in which dialect is represented in a novel or short story⁷.

In purely material terms, however, it is significant whether or not an author represents dialect phonology, lexis, and grammar in a hierarchical fashion in his fictional dialect. Such a hierarchical representation, if indeed the existence of an implicational hierarchy can be assumed, should yield the following pattern: dialect pronunciation will always be

⁷ Cf. section 7.3.1 below.

represented, i.e. there will be non-standard spellings. Dialect words will only be depicted if accent is also represented. And only when both accent and vocabulary are present can non-standard grammatical forms be expected. At the same time, the implicational hierarchy entails that a dialect author would not represent non-standard grammar without also representing dialect pronunciation and vocabulary, nor vocabulary (and non-standard grammar) without accent.

This assumption is supported by ample evidence. Throughout the corpus of 20th century Glasgow fiction, there is no novel or short story which has only dialect words without non-standard spellings, nor a piece of fiction in which only non-standard grammar is represented. Although the last scenario is conceivable, this would arguably be accidental or self-betraying in that it would suggest that the author is not consciously representing non-standard grammar. One interesting case in point is James Kelman's short story 'Remember Young Cecil', which is set in the snooker and billiard halls of Glasgow. It involves a considerable number of non-regionally restricted, non-standard grammatical forms and a few dialect words, but no non-standard spellings to signal dialect pronunciation. With regard to the proposed implicational hierarchy, this short story thus has representations of non-standard lexis and of non-standard grammar, but not of non-standard pronunciation; the most emphasis is on non-standard grammar. Assigning the letters (a), (b) and (c) to the three modules of language variety⁸, we can express the occurrence of non-standard modules in 'Remember Young Cecil' as "(b) + (c) without (a)" with most emphasis on (c). This pattern, however, is not possible according to the proposed implicational hierarchy, where module (b), dialect lexis, is not

⁸ pronunciation (a), lexis (b) and grammar (c)

represented unless module (a), dialect pronunciation, is represented as well. Before drawing any conclusions from this evidence, the non-standard forms represented in the story will be analysed.

The non-standard grammatical forms depicted include instances where the subject-verb concord-rule is disregarded, as in "we all looks at one another" (67) or "we bursts out laughing" (67). This is, of course, a sign of the narrative tense, which has the inflectional ending *-s* for all persons and numbers in the present. In a few cases, an object form is used as if it were the subject, as in "Him and Wee Danny got on well enough" (70), "McGinley and them used to bring players" (71) or "It was him did the talking" (71), with the latter also displaying subject relative pronoun deletion. In "Danny done the same" (68), a past participle form is used as a preterite, and in "Young Cecil could have gave Tam forty" (66), a preterite form is used as a past participle. With regard to negation, "never" is used instead of a periphrastic construction in "you never saw that very often" (69), and there is a double negative in "without even a name nor nothing" (66). An adjective instead of an adverb occurs in "awful good" (74). The only other non-standard grammatical forms in the story are the use of the past progressive instead of simple tense in "Porter's was always buzzing" (72) or "[he] was needing his head examined (72)". In the first example, the habitual aspect marker "always" tends to demand the simple present in (formal written) Standard English, and in the second example the static verb *need* is not usually used in the progressive form. However, the use of a static verb in the progressive is a common Scots usage. In addition, there are a number of instances of a change of tense, in particular involving dramatic narrative shift into the narrative tense for the description of specific foregrounded activities, as in:

It went quiet for a minute and then Hector steps forward and says that he would give the young fellow a game. Hector was playing 4 stick at the time and hitting not a bad ball. But the young fellow just looks him up and down. Hector was a big fat kind of fellow. (Kelman 1985:67)

Ellipsis, which is characteristic of casual conversation, is prominent in the scant dialogues, e.g. in "Anybody fancy a game?" (67), "You young Cecil from the YM?" (67), or "How much you wanting to play for?" (67). Ellipsis also occurs in the narrative in "he had beved it all; his money right enough" (68) and "Trouble was you could hardly get a bet on Cecil" (72). Colloquial syllabic reduction occurs in "less" (72) (*unless*), "course" (69) (*of course*) and "cause" (72) (*because*). Occasionally, the rhetorical means of inversion is used for presenting emphasis, as in "Years ago it was" (67), "During the week it was" (67) or "And then the door opened and in comes this young fellow" (67). With regard to lexis, the only Scots words employed are "wee" (72), "daft" (66), "mind" (71) (*remember*), "yin" (67), "aye" (67), "lads" (68) and "broo day" (69); the only typically West Central word is "weans" (74) and the only two characteristic Glaswegian terms are "sherricking" (68) and "gallus" (73). Colloquial turns of phrase and slang expressions such as "the yellow stuff" (68) (*lager*), "looking daggers at Danny" (68-69), "get a right good hiding" (70) and "bloomer" (74) are numerous.

These instances of non-standard, non-regionally restricted grammar and colloquial ellipsis, with only a few dialect expressions that are not regionally restricted either, amount to the impression that the setting of this story and the milieu depicted is more important than the place. Accordingly, register is more foregrounded than dialect. Although Glasgow is explicitly mentioned as the place of action, linguistically the story could be set anywhere in Lowland Scotland. In all sorts of ways, literary factors seem to have preceded – and excluded – linguistic factors. The use of a number of technical

terms pertaining to billiards or pool and betting (none of which are explained to the unenlightened reader) adds to the impression that Kelman's intention is not so much to capture the local dialect of Glasgow, but to sketch the kind of register that would be used in the billiard hall milieu there. Moreover, the narrator simply accepts that the reader will know the world he talks about, and the reader is assumed to share its values and inside knowledge (Gifford 1991:3). The emphasis is on the atmosphere and on functional variation rather than on the locale or on regional and social variation. Therefore, I would argue that 'Remember Young Cecil' is not a dialect story proper. It foregrounds the colloquial register and the jargon of the milieu rather than the Glasgow dialect, and the non-standard forms depicted do not tend to be regionally restricted. In practical terms, it is quite possible that Kelman also opted for the use of standard spelling because of considerations of readership, as well as for any artistic or creative reason. If he had employed non-standard spellings in addition to the possibly unfamiliar slang and billiards and betting expressions, he might have risked losing part of his readership for reasons of intelligibility.

It can be surmised then that an implicational hierarchy can indeed be predicted in 20th century Glasgow fiction in the sense that we do not get representations of non-standard grammar without representations of accent and dialect lexis, or of dialect lexis without non-standard spelling. However, the implicational hierarchy also allows for a piece of fiction depicting only accent and no dialect vocabulary or grammar. If indeed dialect writers perceive dialect as modular and register pronunciation first, one might expect to find such a novel or short story. In fact, there are a number of works, notably by James

Kelman⁹ and Alex Hamilton¹⁰, which go to extraordinary lengths in their use of non-standard spellings. But again, all of them also depict dialect vocabulary and non-standard grammar. There is, of course, the question whether these authors are aware that they are depicting all three dialect modules, or whether they are only consciously representing accent only. Here it can be recalled that both Kelman and Hamilton have written copiously in Standard English as well, and they have employed different degrees of dialect density in their various works of fiction. I therefore assume that they are certainly aware they are representing non-standard grammar, and that there is no evidence that their use of dialect words is unconscious, either. It can thus be concluded tentatively that all Glasgow dialect novels and short stories have representations of accent, dialect lexis and non-standard grammar. In this sense, there is no strictly *implicational* hierarchy in the representation of the modules phonology, lexis and grammar in Glasgow fiction.

However, there is, potentially, a hierarchical relationship between these features in the sense that the *emphasis* on each of these linguistic areas in different novels can differ. Authors can work predominantly in the area of accent, less so in the lexical area and still less in that of non-standard grammar¹¹. The basic pattern underlying the representation of fictional dialect can be illustrated in the following Figure I.

⁹ E.g. 'The Hon' and 'Nice to Be Nice'.

¹⁰ E.g. 'Moonlighting' and 'Gallus, Did You Say?'.

¹¹ Cf. section 7.3.2 below.

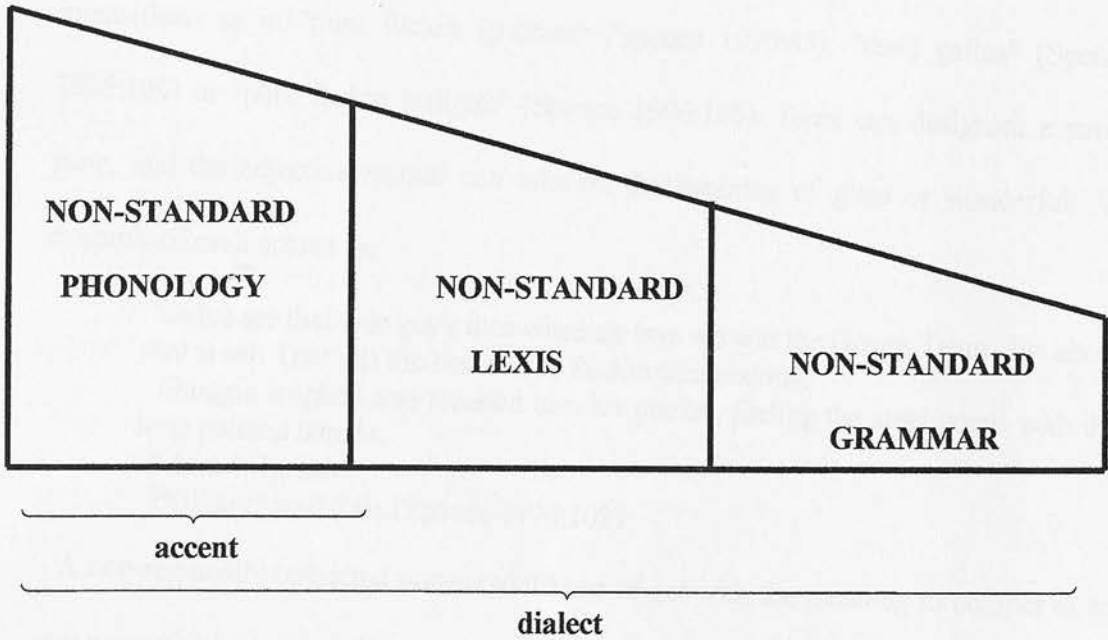


FIGURE I

Figure I approaches the shape of a wedge. This form is meant to indicate on the one hand that in a linear stretch of written dialect, all three language modules are present, and on the other hand that at the same time non-standard spelling is more foregrounded than dialect lexis, and dialect lexis in turn is more foregrounded than non-standard grammar. Thus there is discernible a hierarchical relationship between these three modules or, in Figure I, areas. However, this hierarchy is not strictly implicational, since all modules are present in all novels. The hierarchy in a novel is established through *foregrounding* rather than through the absence of one or two modules.

Starting from the left-hand side, Figure I indicates that non-standard phonological characteristics are most frequently displayed. In the area of lexis, a distinction between dialect words and idioms is helpful. The first category also covers standard lexical items with a non-standard semantic range. These include, for instance, the adjectives *dead* and

pure, which in Glaswegian (and, indeed, in colloquial English) can be used as intensifiers, as in "pure fuckin ignorant" (Spence 1996:45), "dead gallus" (Spence 1996:105) or "pure fuckin brilliant" (Spence 1996:105). *Team* can designate a street gang, and the adjective *mental* can take on the meaning of great or wonderful. An example of each occurs in:

'Didye see that wee guy's face when ah says we wur the Govan Team! Jist aboot shat is sel! That wis the best laugh. Fuckin tremendous!'

Shuggie laughed and reached into his pocket, feeling the steel comb with the long pointed handle.

'Mental!' he said.

'Brilliant!' said Rab. (Spence 1996:109)

A non-regionally-restricted non-standard use of *get* with the meaning to compel or to make somebody do something occurs in "get him tae read it" (Gaitens 1990:87). Also, *get* can mean be allowed, as in "we were to go last night, but I didn't get" (Friel 1987:66), or "I wis to get sailin' them" (Bell 1977:101).

As in colloquial English, the expressions *no fear* or *never fear* are used in the sense of certainly not, as for instance when Jimmy is contemplating his situations just after the beginning of World War I:

He wasn't going to hide in the shipyard or munition factory. No fear! He would get into the thick of the fighting right away. (Gaitens 1990:106)

or when Jeannie is thinking of her affair with Donald:

His self-confidence overwhelmed her but she was determined not to marry him. It wasn't going that far. Never fear! (Gaitens 1990:84)

The expression *nay danger* means that's for sure or exactly, depending on the context. It has the first of these meanings in "This had to be the worst yet man nay danger" (Kelman 1994:28), and in another scene where Sammy is walking the street and considers going into a pub for the toilet:

It was gonny be mobbed and as far as he could remember the toilet was down the left hand side. Maybe it was nay. He would find it but, nay danger. (Kelman 1990:127)

The second meaning is suggested in:

Know what he felt like? A can of fucking superlager. Aye no danger. He had a drouth, a drouth. (Kelman 1994:319)

Such lexical items, which in dialect have semantic dimensions they do not have in the standard, obviously acquire their specific additional meanings in speech situations involving the use of dialect. Therefore, the representation and decoding of multi-valued items (Kirk 1997:198) is essential for the representation of the interactional strategies of the local discourse style in fictional dialect as well.

With regard to grammar, the term non-standard grammar is also used as a cover term for dialect grammar, which by definition is non-standard. The category therefore includes, among others, characteristic¹² Glaswegian non-standard grammatical forms. Typical Glaswegian forms include forms shared with a whole range of other dialects, as for example multiple negation and the disregard of the subject-verb concord-rule. Other non-standard grammatical forms such as the terminal tag *but*, the topicaliser *see* + noun phrase and the plural pronouns *youse* and *yese* are more typically Glaswegian, but then the first example is also shared with the east of Scotland, and the last two examples are shared for instance with Ulster Scots and Geordie. It is the combination of typical and more generally used features which ultimately accounts for the impression that a text is Glaswegian.

The brackets at the base of Figure I indicate that, although accent tends to be more

¹² It cannot be over-emphasised that the adjective "characteristic" or "typical" is not used synonymously with "exclusive".

overtly and frequently represented than dialect lexis or grammar, it forms an integral part of dialect.

Finally, it is important to point out that Figure I does not in essence indicate the simple numerical or statistical distribution of phonological, lexical, and grammatical dialect features in fictional dialect. The *variety* of phonological, lexical, and grammatical dialect forms is more important than their mere number. Only the variety of forms employed (together with their frequency) gives a true impression of the diversity and expressive potential of fictional dialect and of the author's foregrounding of any one of the three areas.

With regard to phonology, this means investigating how many phonological differences an author depicts by non-standard spellings, and how many of these are characteristically Glaswegian. In other words, it is significant whether an author employs a rather limited stock of different non-standard spellings, or whether he undertakes to represent as many phonological characteristics as possible, even if they occur only once or twice. In the first case, the author's representation of accent would be symbolic in the sense that a condensed set of salient markers gives a mere impression of the dialect pronunciation, rather than a full picture of most of its features. In the latter case the representation of accent would be mimetic in that it comes as close to a transcription of phonological features as the use of the alphabet permits.

With regard to non-standard grammar, it also holds true that the more that different features are employed, then the more is non-standard grammar foregrounded. Thus, if an author uses only e.g. multiple negation, sentence tags and the topicaliser *see* + noun phrase I would argue that he is concerned with the non-standardness and possibly the colloquial register of the language variety depicted, but not with an authentic

representation of a particular, regionally and socially restricted dialect.

With regard to lexis, one has to bear in mind that the variety of lexical items employed in a piece of fiction is necessarily related to the topic. Therefore, the correlation "the greater the variety, the stronger the emphasis" does not strictly apply to lexis. In this area, the way in which dialect words and idioms are employed is significant. They can be specially marked as being dialectal through the use of glosses or even glossaries, or by inverted commas; they can be used only in the dialogue or also in the narrative; they can be regionally restricted or they can belong to General Scots; and they can be used self-consciously as an embellishment or as a matter of course, thus forming an integral and organic part of the novel. Certainly the density and frequency of non-standard spellings, dialect lexis and non-standard grammar is not insignificant in establishing which of the three areas is foregrounded by an author. But the variety and manner of depicting them is more crucial.

7.2 DISCOURSE FEATURES

Before discussing examples of dialect representation in Glasgow fiction, the question of the authenticity of fictional dialect has to be addressed.

The most obvious prerequisite for a particular fictional dialect to be plausible is the representation of its phonological, lexical, and grammatical characteristics. This does not imply that a more or less exhaustive representation of these features is required, but that the features represented are indeed features typically pertaining to the dialect in

question, even though most of them will be shared by other dialects and by the standard variety. In other words, the dialect represented must be identifiable by its regional and social markers. This allows the possibility that authors and editors will be happy merely to hint (via kenspeckle features) at the essentially recognisable rather than the accurately and comprehensively represented.

But another factor is at least as important for the authenticity of fictional dialect: the representation of some of its most salient discourse features.

7.2.1 DISCOURSE STYLE

Every social and regional language variety has characteristic choices for performing specific speech acts such as, for instance, requesting, narrating, or reprimanding, as well as typical forms of address and reference, patterns of swearing and threatening, regional conventions of irony and exaggeration, and so forth. Together, such forms constitute the discourse style of a given dialect.

7.2.1.1 Topicalisation and performance of speech acts

A characteristic feature of Glaswegian discourse style is *see* + noun phrase; this construction is used as a topicaliser to introduce a new subject, e.g. where Tod is talking to Mr Alfred about Hitler and Goebbels ("wee Adolf" and "Poor Old Joe"), saying that "they failed to conquer Europe between them because they were too crude. But see me! I'm more subtle" (Friel 1987:163). In *Its Colours They Are Fine* the wedding party is coming to an end and Brian wants to leave with his new wife; he shakes hands with

Tommy, but the latter tries to keep him back: "See you an Kathleen ..." (Spence 1996:129). The non-standard semantic range of *see* as a topicaliser is particularly apparent where Sammy is considering what he needs most urgently now that he is blind: "See a stick! a fucking bastarn stick, that would make all the difference" (Kelman 1994:38) – but of course he cannot physically see that stick.

A characteristic Glaswegian form of insistent or authoritative request uses the imminent future marker *going to* with subject elision, as in "Look mate gony stand somewhere else" (Kelman 1994:216), "Gonnae nick doon an get that [arrow] Aleck?" (Spence 1996:33), or "Heh gony put me to the end of the queue?" (Kelman 1994:89). Occasionally *going to* is used with inversion: "Heh,' shi goes, dig nim in thi ribs, 'heh! Way kup, gonnae!" (Hamilton 1985:43).

The speech act of narrating another conversation includes the frequent repetition of reportorial insertions in the narrative tense where the first person singular (as well as all persons plural) always accompanies a verb marked with third person singular present inflection *-s*, as in:

'Y'know ah met 'im the other day. "Hoo's business, Mister Alewes?" Ah ses. "Och, it's passin' me in the street boy!" ses he, "it's passin' me in the street!" (Gaitens 1990:186)

In *The Dear Green Place* Jetta is relating a story:

"This time I was cutting the bread with this wee knife and Susan says, you know her creeping bloody voice. She says, "Jetta, how long have you been married now, Jetta?" A year, says I, and she says, "And you haven't got a bread-knife yet?" (Hind 1985:229)

In *Its Colours They Are Fine* Aleck is catching snatches of a conversation: "So ah says tae her ah says Margaret ah says ..." (Spence 1996:211)

The speech act of reprimanding has a typical formula in the expression *less of your ...* .

In *Mr Alfred MA* Senga mocks the way her brother Gerald speaks and has him repeat what he said by uttering "Pardon – what did you say?" very clearly and affectedly, thus demonstrating the way she thinks one should speak. Her mother stops Senga short: "We'll have less of your airs, madam!" (Friel 1987:108-109). In *Its Colours They Are Fine* Aleck has to get dressed up for Sunday school, and his mother reminds him to keep his good shoes clean and not to get them scuffed by playing football. Aleck retorts cheekily: "Ah kin jist see me playin football in Sunday school!" but his father puts him into his place: "Less a your cheek boy! Your mother's right." (Spence 1996:19)

7.2.1.2 Forms of address and reference

A typical Glaswegian form of address, and in fact a rather affectionate term, is *hen*. It can be used by a mother to her daughter, for example where Mrs Weipers is comforting Rose: "Wheesht, ma wee hen!" (Friel 1987:105); by a husband to his wife, as in: "Whit sup, hen" (Hamilton 1985:41) and in: "Never mind hen. When ah win the pools..." (Spence 1996:7). *Hen* can be used by a woman for her daughter-in-law, as e.g. in "Put the kettle on, hen!" (Hind 1985:82) and between a man and his girlfriend, as in a scene where Sammy daydreams about Helen: "Know what I'm talking about cleanliness hen cleanliness!" (Kelman 1994:153). However, *hen* is also used to address strangers, e.g. where Tom's mother Mrs Curdie says to the teacher's wife Mary: "Ye should see the place we hae at hame, hen!" (Jenkins 1989:170) and to Mary's daughter: "Whit's your name, hen?" (Jenkins 1989:173). When Sammy is approached by a prostitute, he declines her offer with "Naw hen sorry" (Kelman 1994:287). In fact, *hen* is used by anybody for a female usually younger than oneself.

The corresponding term of address for males is *son*. This is not restricted to one's

offspring, either. *Son* is used for relatives and strangers alike, e.g. where Mr Forbes says to his son "Fares have nothing to do with it, son" (Jenkins 1989:104), or in:

'Yer hair's toozlt, son,' said his mother, 'Ye'll hae tae brush it doon afore ye gang oot!' (Gaitens 1990:90).

Sammy uses it for his son's friend: "Right Keith, you first, okay, just as I'm telling ye son now listen" (Kelman 1994:345). *Son* is also a favourite form of address used by older women, e.g. where a woman who "sounded auld" says to Sammy: "Ye blind son?" (Kelman 1994:121), or where a woman gives Tom a half crown on hearing that he is from a slum home and urges him: "Go on, son, take it" (Jenkins 1989:50), or where Mat asks for a glass of tea in a tearoom and the woman behind the counter retorts: "You mean a *cup*, son. Think you were in a pub? Ha! Ha! Wishful thinking!" (Hind 1985:93). Occasionally, boys use it among themselves, but in a rather playful manner, as where Shuggie and Eddie are having a mock fight and laugh about it and Eddie says: "Ach, don't annoy me son!" (Spence 1996:98).

Other forms of address typically used in Glasgow between males include *mac*, *pal*, *Jimmy* and *mate*. In *No Mean City* Razor King challenges somebody in the dance hall by asking loudly: "Hey, Mac! What dance is this that's on? Can you no' answer a fellow, eh?" (McArthur 1957:108). Sammy's cell mate lights a cigarette and Sammy asks him: "Any chance of a drag mate?" (Kelman 1994:190). To Ally he says: "You're a fucking comic mate that's what you are" (Kelman 1994:227). Shuggie butts and kicks a boy; his friend wants to come to his aid but Eddie stops him: "We're the Govan Team pal, so don't fuckin mess!" (Spence 1996:109). In *Mr Alfred MA*, Pogygy says to Gerald: "Don't worry, pal." (Friel 1987:52). In another scene Mr Alfred is reciting questions used by youths that would stop him in the street:

'Gotta fag, mister?'
 'Gotta light, mac?'
 'Got the time, Jimmy?' (Friel 1987:150)

In another scene, Mr Alfred is getting drunk and tells himself "Be your age, mac!" (Friel 1987:71). Aleck, who wants to hitchhike, stops a lorry driver: "Any chance ae a lift, Jimmy?" (Spence 1996:184).

A regional form of reference is the use of the object form of the personal pronoun, either with a verbal noun (instead of the subject personal pronoun + finite verb), or with a noun phrase or prepositional phrase, for combining or developing a topic. In *The Dear Green Place* Jetta talks about her sister-in-law Susan:

'The vicious bitch. The bloody disturber of the peace. Her man washing every dish for her. Her being aye that *unwell*.' (Hind 1985:229)

In *Dance of the Apprentices* John is recalling his days on a building site:

Always in the open air, sleeping well, never a minute's anxiety about his health, and him a gaffer as well, over twenty men... (Gaitens 1990:158)

In *Wee MacGregor* John speaks to his wife about her sister-in-law:

'I never cud unnerstaun' hoo yer brither Rubbert cud mairry sic an auld boogle, an' him wi' sic a braw sister.' (Bell 1977:28)

The use of the object form as subject pronoun after the person has been introduced can be described as a regionally marked pattern of cohesion.

7.2.1.3 Imprecations, threatening, and warning

The frequent use of imprecations is characteristic of the discourse style represented in recent Glasgow fiction. The casual use of obscenities serves to add emphasis and force to a statement, but more than that, swear words reveal "a world of irony, self-mockery, allusion and sophistication which goes a long way towards convincing that very ordinary people are much more subtle and self-aware, articulate in their own terms, and rich in

redeeming humour, than is conventionally allowed" (Gifford 1991:2). In this sense, the use of taboo words is not even an issue in Glasgow fiction: it is simply crucial for the authentic expression of the everyday experiences of the underprivileged. To cut out the profanities and obscenities sentimentalises working class life and makes it seem not only bearable, but even attractive to middle class readers (Milton 1997:194). One or two striking examples are to be found, for instance, in *How Late It Was How Late*:

... and he couldnay get comfy he just couldnay get fucking comfy, know what I'm talking about fucking comfy, comfy fucking comfy he was fucking fuckt man he was fuckt, that's what he was, fuckt, fucking bastarn good night, good fucking night, if he could sleep, if he could just sleep; but how the fuck can ye sleep if ye canny get comfy? It's a straight question. Fucking pong as well, the phantom fucking farter man he was at it again. (Kelman 1994:175)

Occasionally, imprecations appear as infixes, as in "fair e-bloody-nuff" (Hind 1985:248), "enerfuckinggetic", or "everyfuckingthing" (Kelman 1994:174,54). It should be noted, though, that imprecations often perform a supra-segmental rather than a semantic task: they are a lexical means of guaranteeing that sentence stress occurs. For instance when Sammy wants to give his son money but he refuses, Sammy says to him: "Well buy a fucking bar of chocolate then Peter Christ sake son" and "Come on it's only a bloody tenner, here ...!" (Kelman 1994:348). In the first quote, the insertion of "fucking" adds to the trochaic rhythm of "Buy a bar of chocolate" and also serves as a kind of off-beat to "bar of chocolate", thus ensuring that this phrase gets the main stress. In the second example, "bloody" serves the same purpose of ensuring that the main stress is on the following word. A similar function is taken up by an imprecation where Eddie comments on how great it is to get a lift into town: "Fuckin tremendous!" (Spence 1996:105), and in *Mr Alfred MA* where a teacher remarks:

'In education the experts of one generation always discover the experts of the previous generation were a crowd of bloody eedjits.' (Friel 1987:193)

Here again, "bloody" fits in the metric pattern of the phrase it occurs in, and it can be regarded as a retarding device which ensures that "eedjit" is emphasised, thus providing an ironic stylistic contrast to the first part of the sentence. The use of imprecations in fiction can thus serve as yet another way to create the impression that fictional dialect reproduces the oral quality of spoken dialect.

In the often violent scenes and settings portrayed in 20th century Glasgow fiction, warnings and threats abound. These threats frequently take the syntactical form of questions with rather ironic connotations. In *Mr Alfred MA* a duel between members of two gangs, the Fangs and the Cogs, is described. Big Paw, the Fangs boss, drawls at Poggy: "Fancy yer chance, day ye?", to which Poggy retorts: "Could take you anyway" (Friel 1987:114). This kind of opening can probably be characterised as ritualistic behaviour in gang fights. A similar scene occurs in *Its Colours They Are Fine*:

Shuggie saw the two boys as he came up to them. He singled out the one that had been dancing with Helen, and deliberately brushed against him as he passed.

'Watch who yer shovin son!', said Shuggie, pushing the boy again.

'Wait a minnit!' said the boy.

'Think yer a fuckin hard man?' said Shuggie, and he butted the boy in the face and brought his knee up into his groin. (Spence 1996:108)

A set of ironic threatening questions occasionally takes the place of an actual fight, especially if the opponent is not too impressed. Sammy is looking for Helen in the pub she used to work in, but the bouncers turn him away by saying that she is not working there any more. Sammy closes the door behind him but hears one of the bouncers muttering "Fucking arsehole", at which he turns back and retorts:

Ye say something there pal? eh? ye want to discuss it ya fucking eedjit, eh? what ye saying! fucking bampot ya bastard I'll ram this stick down yer fucking throat.

Just cool it! Cool it! said the other bouncer.

You wanting it as well ya cunt?

Silence. Then the music blared again ... (Kelman 1994:271)

Also, threats can be indicated by meaningful hesitations, as in "Ally ... take it easy!" (Kelman 1994:308), where the aposiopesis signals more than just a break in the flow of speech. A warning especially to children to leave the premises is often expressed by the elliptic *get*. This can meaningfully stand on its own, but it can also have an unspoken continuation ranging from *away from here* or *on your road* to *away tae buggery* and *tae fuck*. When Joe and Aleck are taking the Clyde ferry between Govan and Partick to and fro until they are finally stopped by the pilot:

'Yizzur steyin aff. Yizzuv bin up an doon aff this boat lik a fuckin yoyo. D'ye think it's jist fur playin oan? Noo goan! Get!' (Spence 1996:39)

In another scene, Aleck throws an empty beer can hard against a bin in the back court on an otherwise quiet Sunday morning; Mrs Gallacher shouts at him: "Get tae buggery an make a noise in yir ain back!" ... 'Aye you! Goan, get!'" (Spence 1996:61). A milder continuation of *get* can be associated with a scene in which, after a row with his brother Frankie, Pudge asks him to "gie's a kick ae yer baw", and Frankie, still mad at him, retorts: "You get!" (Spence 1996:102).

7.2.1.4 Irony and exaggeration

The Glaswegian predilection for irony and ironic exaggeration is also amply documented in 20th century Glasgow fiction. In *Mr Alfred MA* a teacher suggests Mr Alfred encourage his new female pupils in self-expression:

'Self-expression, I like that,' said the eavesdropping Mr Dale. 'Makes it sound good, eh? Dumb weans. Self-expression my arse.' (Friel 1987:62)

Apart from the irony implied in the juxtaposition of the two lexical items in the final remark, this comment is indicative of the cynicism with which Mr Dale regards his job

as a teacher in an under-privileged comprehensive school in a run-down area of Glasgow. However, there is still a portion of black humour in his attitude.

Irony is prevalent also when Tommy and his future son-in-law are getting extremely drunk at the stag-night preceding the wedding day; when ready to depart for church the next day, Kathleen asks her father if his hangover is getting better, and holds out the prospect of "a coupla wee halves" at the reception:

'Ah thought that would set yer eyes twinklin!' she said. 'But we've got the small matter ae a weddin tae get over wi first!' (Spence 1996:124)

– a rather sarcastic change of priorities which is possibly not far from reality.

A rather funny kind of irony finds expression in a scene where Robert, Peter and Billy get drunk after taking part in an Orange March. When Billy lifts the bottle straight up to get the last drop out of it, he perceives the dark wide sky and asks Robert if he has ever felt small, to which Robert answers no: "An you're the biggest cunt ah know, so ah don't see whit YOU'RE worried aboot!" (Spence 1996:93). A compliment in a similar vein is passed about a bottle of wine which is said to be "none ae yer rubbish" (Spence 1996:155).

Another drink-related scene sees Mr Alfred having a dram at his aunt's Granny Lyons; he tells her that he is happier away from women and then "elevate[s] his glass sacramentally and plainchant[s]: 'The happiest hours that e'er I spent I spent among the glasses-O!'" (Friel 1987:16) in a most ironic reversal of a line of Burns's "Green Grow the Rashes", according to which the happiest hours are spent among the lasses.

A very bitter kind of irony is expressed in the fight scene between Pogy and Big Paw. The latter stabs Pogy with a chisel "in a swift, savage, powerful thrust" and Pogy falls down, bleeding profusely. Big Paw and his Fangs as well as the Congs ran off: "They

knew when it was the end of a programme. No point waiting for the commercials" (Friel 1987:115). The association with television and the attitude that one is only a spectator as long as one is not the victim are only part of what is implied through this remark. The remark is also a euphemism for the gangs' cowardly escape from the police who are sure to arrive at the scene: the fight is over and both gangs leave Pogy behind to bleed to death.

Again, the Glaswegian's habit of witty or comic exaggeration is illustrated copiously in Glasgow fiction. There is a scene where Rose and Wanda wrestle, and Wanda breaks away and yells at Rose: "Ach, you! You've bust ma bra, ya bitch!" to which Rose retorts: "It's no a bra you need, it's a couple of hammocks" (Friel 1987:95). In *Dance of the Apprentices* Philip wants his father to read an essay he has just composed. While his dad is reading, Philip is standing by his seat "shyly shuffling his foot", and his father says: "Och, stoap jiggin' yer feet. Hoo d'ye expect me tae concentrate wi' you doin' a stepdance beside me!" (Gaitens 1990:161). There is another hyperbole where the old man in the Botanic Gardens says to Aleck: "It's gettin late. Ah better get home an feed that dog before e chews the house down!" (Spence 1996:157). Kelman's use of hyperbole in *How Late It Was How Late* is more self-ironic. For instance, Sammy, despite having gone blind, intends to shave. "That was part of the deal. Even if he cut his throat and died in the attempt, he was gony wipe that chin clean, clean" (Kelman 1994:324), or earlier on his way home:

His head was lowered, the shoulders hunched. The way he was walking wasnay good for the posture. Stooped. He was thirty-eight. By the time he got home he would be forty-one and a half. (Kelman 1994:253)

The rather black humour, typical of many Glaswegians, finds expression in a scene where Sammy hears a scratching in the flat and immediately thinks of rats, since the

building is riddled with them. Where some people might now have complained about this nuisance, Sammy doesn't. Instead, he recalls how

One time he and Helen were coming home and they were waiting on the lift, and when the fucking door opened one of them [rats] strolled out. How d'ye like it. Telling ye man bold as fuck, if it had been raining the cunt would have carried a broolly. (Kelman 1994:120)

7.2.1.5 Discourse style, dialect, and colloquiality

These examples of the discourse style of Glaswegian are so characteristic of the Glasgow dialect in use that it should be apparent that, without them, fictional representations of the Glasgow dialect will not be entirely successful. Fictional dialect, in order to be perceived as authentic, has to include the representation of typical features of the discourse style of the dialect in question in addition to the representation of some of its characteristic regional and social markers.

As observed above, the use of dialect is associated with an informal or colloquial register in the spoken mode. Fictional dialect is associated with an informal register in the written mode, usually as a vehicle for the representation or re-creation of spoken language. In narrative too, dialect is usually employed to tell a story in the broadest sense. Entire stories in dialect are cases in point. They display stylistic devices characteristic of storytelling, such as direct questions and addresses to the (reading) audience, reportorial infiltrations like "shi says", "e goes", "says thi wife" (Hamilton 1985:45,41,42), or "she shouts" (Kelman 1985:75), rhetorical inversions like "up jumps Shug" (Kelman 1985:75), instances of subject or verb elision, and so on. Fictional dialect can be an authentic re-creation (though not a reproduction) of spoken dialect if some of its essentially oral characteristics are represented.

Thus, an adequate representation of discourse style is an essential element of fictional dialect; storytelling devices are important for the oral quality of the fictional text, and the colloquiality of dialect can be rendered in writing by the use of discourse markers.

7.2.2 DISCOURSE MARKERS

Discourse markers are "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin 1987:31). They are used as cohesion devices in colloquial speech to mark stages of the discourse and to allow the maintenance of informal interaction. A stretch of speech consists of a number of predications which in turn are related to each other. In order to establish a relationship between unified statements in spoken language, discourse markers are used. They perform a regular grammatical task by providing links between sequences of speech, and clues as to frames for interpreting what is happening in the discourse and what is about to come. Although they have little explicit meaning, discourse markers have very definite functions at transitional points in the discourse (Macaulay 1994:83).

Since discourse markers like *well, I'm telling you, eh, know what I mean, see* and so forth are characteristic of the spoken mode, their use in fictional dialogue helps to render that dialogue as apparently close to real conversation¹³. In this way, discourse markers effectively contribute to the speech realism of fictional dialogue. They represent one element of what Kirk (1997:199) calls the "mode features" of a literary text. Mode

¹³ As noted above, this resemblance is due to the idealised picture people tend to have of spoken informal conversation.

features depend on whether the text is modelled on the spoken or the written mode. Mode features reflective of a speaking voice include discourse markers, utterances dependent on deictic meanings, speaker shift, interaction, and co-operation between the interlocutors. The use of such mode features in fictional dialogue enables the reader to interpret the text as an informal conversation and thus to infer speech realism.

However, the use of discourse markers not only characterises a text as colloquial, i.e. as pertaining to a certain register. Some discourse markers can also be typical of a regional and social variety, that is, some discourse markers can be dialectal¹⁴. A typical Glaswegian discourse marker is the expression *now ye're talking*. It is used by one of the partners in a conversation when in his opinion the other speaker is hitting the nail on the head. *Now ye're talking* then indicates that both partners have reached the same basis of understanding a certain fact. *Now ye're talking* is also used when the interlocutor is demanding an impossible answer, as where Sammy is being questioned by the police about the name of a pub where he met some other small-time criminals. Sammy's answer to the sergeant's question "Which pub?" is: "Aw christ now ye're talking, we were hitting them" (Kelman 1994:166), implying that they visited so many pubs he cannot remember. Here the discourse marker signifies that Sammy is unable or at least unwilling to provide the desired answer. In a similar way, *now ye're talking* is also used when the speaker has touched on something which demands a long detailed explanation by the interlocutor. This expression can therefore be said to serve either as an excuse for the speaker's unwillingness to answer his partner's question or remark, or as an introduction to and justification of an ensuing longer monologue.

¹⁴ In this sense, discourse markers are also (or can be) regionally marked features of cohesion and thus represent one aspect of discourse style.

The discourse markers *know what I mean*, *know what I'm saying* and *know what I'm talking about* mark something achieved; the speaker has just finished explaining a certain fact or idea, and in order to intimate this to his interlocutor, he inserts a phrase like *know what I mean*. The speaker assumes that his interlocutor has been following his explanations, so the discourse marker is not to be taken literally as a question seeking to elicit information, and neither as an empty filler. These expressions are also used to obviate (or to signal the absence of) the need to be explicit. Examples of this kind of discourse marker abound in *How Late It Was How Late*. In one scene, Sammy is telling the police about having met one of his mates, but he cannot remember any details because he was drunk at the time. The police sergeant does not believe Sammy, so the latter continues:

... Probably there was a lot of people I met, I dont know, I canny mind. I'm no saying the Leg [his mate] is wrong. ... We were both steaming, know what I mean, we were hitting it, cause of the extra dough I had ... (Kelman 1994:170)

For Sammy the expression "we were both steaming" is a sufficient explanation for his inability to recall any details. The discourse marker "know what I mean" indicates that, as far as Sammy is concerned, the situation is perfectly clear, and it invites (or silently assumes) agreement that this is so. The phrase "we were hitting it" is a reiteration of what he has already stated.

In *Its Colours They Are Fine* Tommy is making apologies to his wife Mary for the hangover he is nursing due to the previous stag-night:

'We hid tae gie um [the groom] a wee bit send aff, ye know whit ah mean.'
'Ah know whit ye mean awright, an ah know wherr ah'd send the perry yiz! ...'
(Spence 1996:116)

Tommy's use of "ye know whit ah mean" is an indication that as far as he is concerned his hangover is excused by the fact that it was all done for the groom's sake. But Mary's

ironic answer implies that she knows perfectly well what he is denying. The phrase "Ah know whit ye mean awright" as used by Mary is not itself a discourse marker, but an ironic literalising echo of Tommy's usage. It signals that Mary understands the unspoken implications of Tommy's excuse. Shortly afterwards, Tommy is trying to convince his daughter Kathleen that he and Brian were not really drunk at all the previous night: "We didnae really huv that much", to which Kathleen retorts: "Aye, tell me another wan!" (Spence 1996:117), i.e. another joke or lie. She too lets her father know that she will not be fooled on the subject through her ironic use of a discourse marker suggesting that she has already exposed his first fib for what it is. Tommy defends himself: "Naw ah'm no kiddin ... Ah mean we hud tae keep wursels right," but Kathleen is unimpressed: "Away ye go!" she says, thus indicating that she does not believe him either. And Tommy gives in: "You're as bad as yer mammy" (Spence 1996:117). Kathleen uses the two discourse markers to intimate that she is quite aware of what her father is trying to hide from her.

In conclusion it can be maintained that discourse style and characteristic discourse markers greatly enhance the authenticity of fictional dialect. In fact, "they are often more responsible for the regional and social speech stereotypes on which writers draw than are differences in pronunciation and grammar" (Johnstone 1994:279). Discourse markers, whether typical of the dialect represented or generally characteristic of spoken utterances, are to a large extent responsible for the speech realism of fictional dialogue.

7.2.3 DISCOURSE FEATURES AND HIERARCHICAL FOREGROUNDING

Since discourse features are indispensable for an authentic recreation of dialect speech in writing, they can be regarded as another module of dialect and hence be added to Figure I:

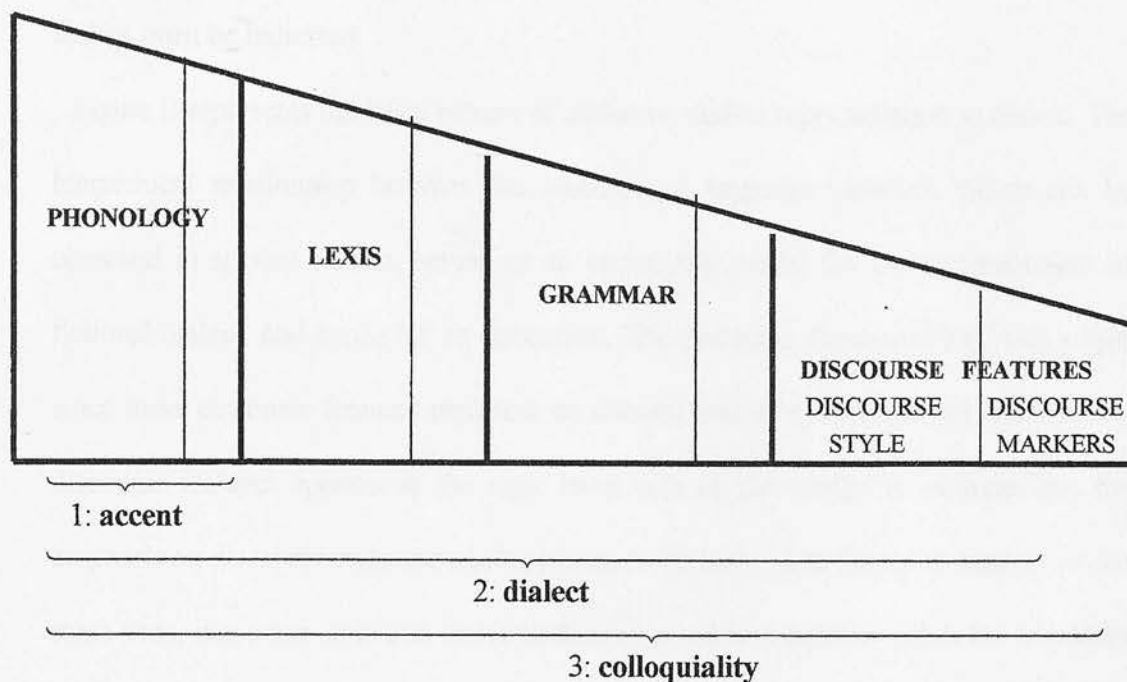


FIGURE II

As *Stevens* (1983:90-91) correctly points out, "the popular ability to identify a person's geographical origins ... depends primarily on accent and only secondarily on localized vocabulary and colloquial expressions. Clues from grammar or discourse features tend to be less informative than those of the two preceding categories, either because they are less well known as indicators, or more likely because they occur less frequently." Discourse style is responsible for some of the dialectal shibboleths depicted in fiction. Hence, dialect (bracket 2) embraces the section discourse style. At the same time, discourse features are particularly characteristic of the spoken mode, so that both discourse style and discourse markers are subsumed in the area discourse features.

Discourse markers are primarily responsible for the speech realism of written dialogue. Since they can be dialectal, dialect (bracket 2) also encompasses discourse markers to some degree. Finally, the correlation between non-standard and informal speech situations can be described as colloquiality (bracket 3): dialect is essentially colloquial. If written representations of dialect are to be plausible, the colloquial character of this dialect must be indicated.

Figure II represents the basic pattern of authentic dialect representation in fiction. The hierarchical relationship between the modules of language varieties, which can be observed in spoken dialect, serves as an underlying model for the representation of fictional dialect, and hence for its discussion. The discourse dimension has been added since these discourse features represent an integral part of spoken dialect. The section discourse features appears at the right hand side of the wedge to indicate that the emphasis on discourse style and markers tends to be lower than that on grammar. At the same time, discourse style and dialectal discourse markers belong within the hierarchy since dialectal forms of address and reference and standard lexical items with a non-standard semantic range are not depicted in fiction without instances of dialect pronunciation, lexis and grammar. Strictly speaking, discourse markers like *well*, *so*, *then*, and so forth are standard items. They can thus appear in standard fictional dialogues and in this sense they do not form part of the hierarchical relationship between the modules of a non-standard language variety. However, since they are shared by the dialect in question, they can also be considered as dialectal items, and in this sense they do belong within the hierarchy. They are therefore subsumed under the section discourse markers and included in the diagram without being specially marked.

7.3 PATTERNS OF FOREGROUNDING

A work of fiction which puts the greatest emphasis on the area of spelling, but which also has a variety of dialectal lexical items and some non-standard grammatical forms, as well as occasional instances of regional discourse style and dialectal discourse markers fits the basic pattern of the hierarchy of foregrounding as displayed in Figure II above. Since this hierarchical pattern corresponds to the perception of spoken dialect, it seems reasonable to identify this as an underlying pattern of authentic fictional dialect representations as well. However, by no means every work of Glasgow fiction displays precisely this hierarchy of foregrounding.

7.3.1 NON-IMPLICATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

Apart from the purely material aspects of representing dialect in writing, a dialect writer also has to consider the text-specific function of dialect in a particular novel or short story, and the potential readership. Both issues influence the density of dialect and the choice of particular dialect features represented in a work of fiction.

The function of dialect in a novel correlates with its theme or topic. It is therefore more dependent on the demands of the fictional situation than on the probable behaviour of an actual speaker. The dialect itself can be a leitmotiv, in which case it forms an integral, organic part of the novel. This is true for *Mr Alfred MA*, in which the theme is the breakdown of communication. Numerous narratorial comments on dialect and standard pronunciation and attitudes associated with these language varieties, as well as

ironic comments by some of the characters, support this interpretation. There is, for instance, a scene in which Gerald says to Mr Alfred: "Take your hauns aff me". This is followed by the comment: "His dialect vowels were themselves a form of insolence. Normally a boy spoke to his teacher in standard English" (Friel 1987:37). In another scene, Graeme Roy, who is portrayed as a Standard English speaker, is characterised by Martha as "so tidy, trim, well-dressed and superior, and he spoke so correctly" (Friel 1987:29). Non-linguistic issues such as tidiness, cleanliness, and superiority tend to be associated with Standard English, whereas dialect pronunciation has the power of reinforcing an insult. The offence is obviously not only a semantic one, but it is brought about by the very use of dialect pronunciation. In another scene, the Italian ice cream parlour owner Enrico (of all people) complains bitterly about the pupils who frequent his shop:

'... I speak their language. Can they speak mine? Speak mine? They can't even speak their own fucking language!' (Friel 1987:84)

Dialect can be employed in a novel as a kind of embellishment, and it may be used by only one or two characters. Such novels, where dialect is either an embellishment or where it supports rather than raises an interpretative point, include George Blake's *The Shipbuilders*, J.F. Hendry's *Fernie Brae* and Margaret Thomson Davis's *The Breadmakers Saga*. In all the works of fiction discussed in detail in the present thesis, however, dialect is foregrounded in one way or another. In Hamilton's 'Moonlighting' it is responsible for the oral and colloquial character of the story, whereas in *No Mean City* dialect is the one language variety used by all the characters (but not by the narrator); it thus forms the linguistic characteristic associated with slum life, violence and squalor.

A dialect author also has to take aesthetic considerations into account, as for instance

that the density and perhaps frequency of dialect use tends to decrease from childhood to adulthood. In *Dance of the Apprentices*, Eddie Macdonnel speaks exclusively Glaswegian in the first part of the novel, which deals with Eddie's childhood and adolescence. Towards the end, when Eddie is in prison as a conscientious objector, there are hardly any dialogue passages attributed to him, so that even his passages of free indirect speech are now entirely in Standard English. Apart from the fact that the latter part of the novel deals with Eddie's adult life, it is also set in London. In an unfamiliar geographical setting, however, many dialect speakers do not speak dialect as frequently and as undilutedly as they do at home. This is certainly true for Eddie Macdonnel, and it is also a factor in *Its Colours They Are Fine*. The first part deals with Aleck's boyhood in Govan; here, Glaswegian is the only language variety used for his dialogues. In the third part, Aleck reappears as an adult living in London and now travelling back to Glasgow. The closer he gets to his native city, the more frequently he uses Glaswegian again, although not with the same density as earlier.

The sociolinguistic question also has to be considered. Ultimately, all characters portrayed as dialect speakers in the corpus of 20th century Glasgow fiction selected belong to the working class, which makes this portrayal convincing. The only exception is to be found in 'Moonlighting'. The couple that the story is about are residents of Newton Mearns, a posh suburb on the south side of Glasgow. These middle class people are not typical dialect speakers. The fact that they are quoted as speaking Glaswegian in the story has to be correlated with the Glaswegian narrator, who "quotes" the couple using his own dialect.

The sociolinguistic issue also involves the situations in which dialect is used. For instance, it seems highly inappropriate to Mr Alfred that Gerald should be using

Glaswegian instead of Standard English when answering him, a teacher, but for Gerald there is no reason to compromise his use of dialect in any speech situation. Given Gerald's company, school and family background, his attitude is plausible – he hardly ever hears anybody speak anything else apart from the teachers and from his sister Senga, to whom he is not going to yield. Similarly, Sammy's use of dialect in *How Late It Was How Late* never changes, whether he is in the pub with his mates, or being questioned by the police, or talking to his son. In the last-mentioned situation, only Sammy's extensive use of imprecations decreases considerably. In *The Dear Green Place* Mat adapts his language to the speech situation and his conversational partners. He speaks dialect in the family and the slaughterhouse, but Standard English with the young man at the reception in the Municipal Gallery and with his poet-friends. Senga in *Mr Alfred MA* tries to distance herself from her mother and brother and hence from the way they speak, i.e. their dialect, by adopting what she considers a proper pronunciation. She criticises her brother Gerald silently:

His enunciation was poor. He swallowed half his words, he used a glottal stop, and he spoke so quickly that every sentence came over like one enormous agglutination of syllables. (Friel 1987:108)

Senga tells her mother that "if people can't speak properly they can't expect to be understood", to which her mother angrily retorts:

'Do you think there's nothing wrong with the way you speak? ... You should hear yourself sometimes. But we're not good enough for you. Oh no! You're that superior.' (Friel 1987:109)

This conflict is not about dialect itself, but about what different characters associate with different language varieties. It is most ironic that Senga, precisely because of the way she speaks, is not understood either: that is, not simply in terms of intelligibility – which is what she refers to in her smart remark to her mother – but on the level of human

interaction and relationships. The members of this family not only speak different varieties of English, but they do not ultimately communicate with each other.

A marked contrast between Glaswegian and Standard English speakers is also present in *The Shipbuilders* between the riveter Danny Shields and the shipyard owner Leslie Pagan. Here, however, the contrast is established merely on social grounds in the sense that Danny belongs to the working class, Leslie to the upper middle class, and Danny's use of dialect is merely an embellishment.

Apart from having sociolinguistic implications, dialect can also serve to further the plot of a novel. One way of using dialect strategically is to have dialect speakers succeed and standard speakers fail. An example occurs in *Mr Alfred MA* where the hero himself and Graeme Roy, the boy who, in Martha's view, speaks "so correctly", are either declared insane or commit suicide, whereas the likes of Gerald get on in their world¹⁵. In *No Mean City* all the characters, and therefore all dialect speakers, are doomed to go down the same vicious spiral created by the slums and characterised by the use of dialect. There is no escape.

Thus, the function of dialect and the aesthetic, sociolinguistic, and literary aspects of fictional dialect influence the frequency and density of the dialect representation in a novel or short story. This can also lie behind modifications within the adopted pattern of foregrounding.

Finally, the author has to assume a standard reading audience and therefore has to face

¹⁵ Of course, the message of *Mr Alfred MA* is not as simple as that; there is also the violent and senseless death of Pogy, who is a dialect speaker, while the other teachers, Standard English speakers, maybe with the assistance of their cynicism, get on as well. As mentioned above, the novel is about the breakdown of communication in general, not only between dialect and standard speakers. However, the fate of the hero Mr Alfred and that of another main character, Gerald, can be correlated with their use of language, and in this sense dialect has a strategic function in this novel.

the issue of intelligibility and the question of how far he can risk losing his readership by employing non-standard spellings. These questions have to be weighed against the fact that it is desirable to give a materially accurate representation of dialect which makes the latter identifiable and ultimately plausible. The potential readership is thus a decisive factor in the choice of foregrounding. A novel about Glasgow intended to give outsiders an insight might focus more on lexis than on pronunciation in order to familiarise the reader with the setting and to avoid the risk of losing part of the readership through an extensive use of non-standard spellings.

7.3.2 FICTIONAL DIALECT AND COMMUNICATIVE FRAMEWORK

As noted above, every work of Glasgow fiction selected depicts instances of Glaswegian accent, lexis and grammar as well as (at least in some cases) discourse style and discourse markers. At the same time, I have not come across any Glasgow novel or short story which represents only one or two of the modules of dialect. Hence it is inappropriate to speak of an *implicational* hierarchy with regard to fictional dialect. Still, every Glasgow novel displays a hierarchy in the way in which an author foregrounds one module rather than others. Where a novel's pattern of foregrounding dialect pronunciation before lexis and, in turn, before grammar, corresponds to the implicational hierarchy recognised in the assessment of spoken language, this correspondence could be attributed to the observation that the author represents dialect in writing in the same way as he registers its modules in the spoken mode. Deviations from the implicational hierarchy in other works would then have to be explained either

by a different perception of spoken dialect on the part of the author, or by his failure to represent dialect in the same way as he registers it. However, neither of these two explanations is convincing. Instead, one has to assume a conscious decision on the part of the author as to which module should be foregrounded. Therefore, both the correspondence to and deviations from the hierarchical pattern of foregrounding as illustrated in Figures I and II must be explained by the same underlying criterion.

The representation of fictional dialect ultimately depends on the communicative framework of each particular novel. The communicative framework to some extent corresponds to the narrative voice of a work of fiction, although it is by no means congruent with it. The point of view and the kind of narrator adopted in a particular novel do not on their own constitute a conclusive criterion for the novel's communicative framework. The narrator's attitude to the characters and to the setting also has to be taken into consideration. A third person narrator can be detached or emotionally involved, and the author can be sympathetic or neutral. The dialect representation differs accordingly. A sympathetic author is less likely to make strong use of stereotypes than a detached one whose intention is to illustrate what he might regard as typical in a world he is either not familiar with from his own experience, or one from which he is distancing himself. Dialect can be represented mimetically for the sake of embellishment; in this case the communicative framework is likely to be that of an outsider intending to give an account of Glasgow in the tradition of classic realism. A sympathetic insider on the contrary might put more emphasis on the symbolic function of dialect (without neglecting his mimetic task) and employ dialect as an organic, integral part of the novel. The narrator's (and implicitly the author's) mind style is thus an important clue to the representation of fictional dialect.

The different patterns of foregrounding will be illustrated by three examples from Glasgow fiction, each of which foregrounds one of the modules accent, lexis and grammar.

7.3.2.1 Foregrounding of accent

Hamilton's short story 'Moonlighting' puts by far the greatest emphasis on pronunciation, but it also depicts a number of dialect words and idioms and some instances of non-standard grammar and discourse style. The pattern of foregrounding in 'Moonlighting' thus corresponds to the pattern suggested by the implicational hierarchy of spoken dialect.

The story, told by a first-person narrator, is about a well-off couple whose car is stolen one night, but brought back the following day. Attached to it is a thank-you note with tickets for the opera and the explanation that the car was "borrowed" for an emergency. On their return home from the opera, the couple find that their home has been completely emptied by the same gang who stole the car. The narrator explains that he was told this story by his brother. Since this brother is acquainted with the couple, the implication is that the brother himself heard the story from them in the first place. The communicative framework then is that of a first-person narrator re-telling a story in his own words which he has ostensibly heard from somebody else, who in turn got it first hand from the protagonists themselves.

The story displays a number of story-telling devices such as direct addresses to the reader like "Know ma brurr Johnny" (40) and "Know how Johnny's sel-fimployed" (40), reportorial infiltrations with the use of the narrative tense, e.g. "shi says" (41), "e goes" (41), " says thi wife" (42) or "grunts thi aul boay" (43), and syntactic parallelisms such

as:

No a squerr a linoleum.
 No a thread a carpit.
 No a hem a curtin.
 Nuthn, nuthn, nuthn nagayn. (45)

Many of the non-standard spellings indicate shibboleths of Glasgow pronunciation. The sequence <err> indicates [e(:)r] in <therr> (41), <merr> (41), <sumwherr> (40) and <cerrfulli> (41). The digraph <oa> suggests the realisation [o] in <firgoat> (41) (*forgot*), <knoack> (44) or <hoaspitil> (44), and /ð/-rhoticisation is signalled in the spelling <brurr> (40) (*brother*). Eye-dialect is employed frequently as well, e.g. in <minnits> (44), <statium> (41), <Chuesday> (43), <fifti> (45), <cassil> (41) and <necissri> (42). Suprasegmental features like stress are suggested by non-standard word boundaries. Examples include <way kup> (43) (*wake up*), <lee vur> (41) (*leave her*), <thing kAh'm> (44) (*think I am*), <urum Ah> (41) (*or am I*) and <umAh slosh tur> (42) (*am I sloshed or*).

With regard to dialect lexis, 'Moonlighting' displays the typical Glaswegian expressions "sherrickin" (41), "a wee dauner" (41), "wean" (44) and "moonlight flit" (45) as well as General Scots words like "aye" (42), "foo" (42), "gey" (44), "wee" (45) and "afore" (45). Idioms include "shiz no hiv nim oan" (44) (*she is not having him on*), "goat aff thir mark" (42) and "fur thir dinnir ina a right good buckit" (41).

Instances of non-standard morphology involve the use of a preterite form for a past participle in "e's did that" (43), "thiv took" (43) or "yiv went" (45). Non-standard syntactic forms include a double modal in "thill kin get" (44) and the use of a determiner in "thi wife" (41) and "thir dinner" (41). The adverbial use of *but* as a sentence tag in "they nivir phone duz up it Jackie's but" (42), and the omission of a verb of motion in

"naway n phone" (44) are also examples of non-standard syntax.

The typical Glaswegian discourse style is captured in the use of *going to* with subject elision as a demand in "way kup, gonnae!" (43) and the use of *see* + noun phrase as a topicaliser in "Ach, see you ... yiv nae ramance in yir soul" (43). A sense of irony or indeed sarcasm is conveyed in the husband's retort to his wife's complaint that he is not romantic because he does not appreciate the thank-you note with the opera tickets:

'... earnin wee ramantic pennies so's yi could buy a wee ramantic hoose wi a wee ramantic extra garidge fur yir wee ramantic extra motir - that yi could lee voot fur a big ramantic chancir tae nick n dry vaway fur iz ain kinveniunce!' (43)

Discourse markers such as "well" (41), "noo" (40), "know whit Ah mean" (44) and "that stae say" (43) are suggestive of the colloquiality of the story.

The communicative framework of 'Moonlighting' implies that this story is intended to be a re-creation of the spoken mode, and that the narrator himself received the story orally in the first place¹⁶. Not only is pronunciation foregrounded, but a consistent rendition of suprasegmental features is attempted as well. The representation of pronunciation and stress emphasises the essentially oral character of the story. The pattern of foregrounding in 'Moonlighting' corresponds to that of the implicational hierarchy registered in spoken language precisely because it is suggestive of the spoken mode in general and of Glasgow dialect in particular. Written dialect is represented according to the same underlying hierarchical pattern in which spoken dialect is registered and assessed. Moreover, the story is evidently written by an author who is very familiar with the Glasgow dialect and who strives to re-create the cadences of spoken Glaswegian to such an extent that he probably loses part of his readership due to the

¹⁶ In fact, a so-called moonlight flit is part of urban legend, and in this sense of oral tradition.

impairment of reading fluency caused by non-standard word boundaries, eye-dialect and other non-standard spellings. It has to be emphasised that this short story is probably as close a recreation of the shibboleths and cadences of the Glasgow accent as can be achieved by using only the letters of the English alphabet and standard punctuation marks.

7.3.2.2 Foregrounding of lexis

A work of Glasgow fiction which foregrounds dialect lexis is A. McArthur & Kingsley-Long's *No Mean City* (1935). It is about early 20th century gang warfare and slum life in the Gorbals district of Glasgow. Initially written by the unemployed Gorbals-born Alexander McArthur, it was brought into publishable form by the journalist H. Kingsley-Long. Ever since its publication in 1935, it has been praised, or rejected, for its realistic descriptions of violence¹⁷. Evidently produced for a readership unfamiliar with the living conditions portrayed in the novel, it has an unsympathetic third-person narrator who records events chiefly for the sake of sensationalism. Accordingly, dialect is used as an embellishment to give the story a sense of the locale and to root it firmly in the slum districts of Glasgow. More importantly though, the use of dialect supports the impression of the outlandishness of the setting which, at the time of the original publication, it would be bound to give to the standard-reading audience – who could marvel at this microcosm of violence, squalor and non-standard speech from the comfort of their own cosy surroundings. The patronising impression a sympathetic reader gets can thus be linked directly to the communicative framework.

¹⁷ *No Mean City* was in fact banned from Glasgow's public libraries because in the eyes of the City Fathers, it amplified "the already evil reputation which Glasgow had for gang warfare" (Damer 1997:11).

Dialect lexis is foregrounded in various ways. There is a great variety of dialect words and idioms, and in fact a few expressions are preserved in *No Mean City* which have not been documented anywhere else. Furthermore, a considerable number of non-standard lexical items are glossed, and a large number of expressions, both standard and non-standard, appear in inverted commas. The Glaswegian and Scots expressions employed without glosses include "sherricking" (46), "chanty" (157), "press" (*cupboard*) (116), "wean" (228), "dae her in" (47), "winchin" (89), "rammy" (82), and "stand-offish" (68), among many others. Some of the lexical items with glosses are "china (friend)" (39), "plummy (dull)" (48), "shebeens (an illicit drinking den)" (24), "widoes (hooligans)" (68), "prams (legs)" (51) and "paraffin (appearance)" (81), with the latter in fact being rhyming slang *paraffinile*, for style. Glossed idioms include the expressions "have a deck (look)" (16), "on my tod (alone)" (77), "got the crap on (wind up)" (81), "dead thick (wide awake and knowing)" (174), "idle set (unemployed)" (88), and "nit the jorrie (leave the girl alone)" (14). The last example is an expression, which might be a gypsy term, seems to be known only from *No Mean City*.

Items in inverted commas, which signal the narrator's often ironic distance, range from the Glaswegian "hoose" (*flat*) (71), "eleven of a family" (8), "on the dole" (147), "well put on" (11) and "a fine bit stuff" (*girl*) (173) to the Standard English "fags" (97), "sweeties" (168), "good English" (135), and "education" (85), with the latter indicating that the narrator's understanding of these terms differs from that of the characters.

No Mean City also displays a number of different non-standard spellings, although the spelling is not always plausible. For instance, where Lizzie says to her sisters "Ah'm gaun out wi' Razor King from Crown Street" (71), the digraph <au> in "gaun" suggests the Glaswegian pronunciation [ɔ], but the pronunciation [ʌt] of <out> is not indicated by the

spelling¹⁸. Possibly *fae* would be more authentic than "from" in a remark like that: Lizzie is bursting with pride because the hero of the Gorbals has chosen her for his partner so she would probably identify herself with him through her manner of speaking. Also, she is speaking in an intimate setting, i.e. at home to her sisters. This too suggests that consistent and rather dense dialect should be expected here.

Shibboleths of Glasgow pronunciation are indicated by the spellings <err> for [ɛ(:)r] in <Merry> (77), <kerr> (*care*) (183), <therr> (52), <sterrs> (78) <kerrt> (13), <kerrying> (13), or <derry> (245); <au> for [ɔ(:)] in <auld> (7), <whaur> (12), <haud> (*hold*) (17) or <hauf> (159); <ei> for [i] in <heid> (23) and <deid> (161); <e> in <effer> (60) or <gled> (61) and numerous others. The spelling of <chyng> (*change*) (97) suggests the pronunciation [ɛɪ] or [əɪ] of the vowel. Eye-dialect is present e.g. in <sune> (131), <fule> (23), <yuh> (51), or <schule> (93).

Instances of non-standard grammar are also quite numerous. Examples of non-standard morphology include the use of an adjective instead of an adverb in "bad built" (22), "awful well" (69) and "wanted it bad" (139), the use of a preterite form for a past participle in "had broke" (15) and "Ah've took" (80), the Scots suffix *-(i)t* in the past tense forms "telt" (26) and "skelpit" (23) as well as in the past participles "startit" (96), "mairrit" (31) and "hurtit" (24). Non-standard syntactical forms include the omission of a verb of motion in "Ah'll awa oot" (60), the tag *eh* in "Ye'll no speak, eh?" (24) and "nae sherrickin' or anything like that, eh?" (46), and the use of a determiner in "the morn's mornin'" (96), "the noo" (29), "in the jail" (75) and "to the schule" (76). The second person singular pronoun is used with the imperative in "jist you wait" (44) and "don't you

¹⁸ In *No Mean City* the spelling <oo> is usually employed to suggest [u], e.g. in <oot> (12), <hoose> (7), <toon> (75) or <aroon> (10).

fret" (47).

Despite the relatively large variety of non-standard spellings and non-standard grammatical forms represented, lexis is clearly most prominent. There is an obvious correlation with the communicative framework in that the unsympathetic narrator tells a story of violence and slum life to an audience either unacquainted with or altogether ignorant of this facet of Glasgow. Hence, a fair amount of "insider" vocabulary is employed to make the story sound realistic and to support the impression that what is happening in the novel is so far removed from the reader's personal experiences that the setting requires its own terminology. Of course, the lexical items employed are also typical Glaswegianisms and in this sense support the creation of the locale. Accent, however, cannot be as much foregrounded as lexis because it seems more important what the slum dwellers say, not how they say it. Moreover, an abundance of non-standard spellings would impair the reading fluency and possibly affect the audience's inclination to read the novel. Non-standard grammatical forms too are depicted to give the reader an impression rather than to re-create spoken Glaswegian mimetically. Hence, forms like the plural pronouns *youse* and *yese*, double negatives, double modals, the adverbial tag *but* or subject relative pronoun deletion do not occur at all.

On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that *No Mean City* was the first serious attempt at portraying slumlife and violence in a realistic fashion; this includes the representation of dialect which at the time was more authentic, despite its flaws, than it was in virtually all previously published works of Glasgow fiction.

7.3.2.3 Foregrounding of grammar

The Glasgow novel which most clearly foregrounds non-standard grammar (and to some extent lexis) is Kelman's *How Late It Was How Late* (1994). The story unfolds very much inside the mind of the main character, the small-time criminal Joe Samuels, called Sammy. After a fight he has provoked with some police officers, Sammy not only finds himself in jail but, presumably as a result of the blows he received, he has turned blind. The novel deals with his efforts to cope with his blindness and with the fact that his girlfriend has disappeared without trace. Sammy is suspected of having connections with other Glasgow criminals, is put back in jail and questioned repeatedly but to no avail, and he makes an effort to have his blindness certified by a doctor so he can apply for benefits. Having achieved none of his aims, Sammy in the end escapes to London with the help of his son Peter. The outer action is minor compared to the space taken up by Sammy's musings. The reader gets the impression that any dialogue which is not outer action actually takes place in Sammy's head. He constantly talks to himself, or rather, he talks in his mind. Thus, while his musings are written down and form the major part of the novel, they are presented as being inaudible. The communicative framework is therefore established in the main character's mind. Since so much of the direct and free direct speech is not in fact spoken out loud, there is no obvious need for elaborate non-standard spellings. In fact, there is a very limited stock of re-spellings which, however, occur consistently throughout the novel. These are <au> for [ɔ] in <auld> (11) and <cauld> (312); <ay> for [e:] in <fayther> (89) and the negative particle <nay> (21); <aw> for [ɔ] in <maw> (336), <naw> (9) and <aw> (9); <u> for [ʌ] in <bunnet> (327), <wur> (*our*) (351), <guvnor> (256) and <hullo> (21); <oa> for [o] in <Boab> (70); v-vocalisation in <ower> (9); syllable-final consonant-loss in <len> (69),

and assimilation in <d'ye> (97) and <gony> (19). *Soldiers* appears as <sodjers> (3), *idiot* as <eedjit> (16), *police* as <polis> (342) to indicate the word-initial stress, <stupit> (21) and <fuckt> (137) are always spelled with a final <t>, and the suffix *-it* occurs in the preterite <wantit> (258) and the past participles <merrit> (130), <knackt> (113), <droomit> (247) and <landit> (279). Virtually everything else is in standard orthography.

Compared to this condensed set of salient pronunciation markers, instances of non-standard grammatical forms abound, both in terms of their variety and their frequency. Non-standard morphological forms include, among numerous others, the plural pronouns "yous" (185) and "yez" (13). A preterite form is used for a past participle in "he was beat" (75), "she had took the huff" (22) or "he could have went (36)", and the past participle is generalised in "he done it" (27) and "I've brung" (337), with "brung" representing a Scots participle. Instances of infixation include "neverfuckingending" (39) and "enerfuckinggenetised" (174). A colloquial superlative is "most stupidest" (172).

Non-standard syntactical forms involve the use of the progressive aspect with a stative verb in "I'm no thinking too clear" (218) and "I know what ye're meaning" (112). In terms of negation, *never* is used to negate a single incident in "I never heard ye" (196), and multiple negation occurs in "couldnay see nothing" (10). The imperative is formed with the second person pronoun in "so just you be careful" (348). The tag *but* is used adverbially in "he was definitely blind but" (10) and "It's true but" (112). *Like* is used adverbially in "ye want to know like?" (106) and "How ye know it like?" (149). *Out* occurs without *of* in "things out his control" (7), "pap him out the door" (7) and "out the question" (52). *See* + noun phrase is used as a topicaliser in "see them, them fucking things?" (282). And this merely is to select, briefly and somewhat at random.

In terms of lexis, *How Late It was How Late* not only has a large number of dialect

words and idioms, but also a large number of jargon and slang expressions related to the setting in the criminal underworld. These form part of the Glaswegian lexis typical of such a register, despite the fact that they are not regionally restricted. The corpus of dialect lexis includes General Scots and Lowland English items such as "mind" (*remember*) (8), "how" (*why*) (142), "wee" (3), "aye" (3), afore" (26), "greeting" (*crying*) (54) and "blether" (147). Examples of typical Glaswegian lexical items are "patter" (141), "bampot" (14), "hoaching" (314), "offski" (278), "blooter" (45), "ginger" (*softdrink*) (337), "minging" (151) and "bit of stuff" (*girl*) (256). Glaswegian idioms include "going like the auld clappers" (5), "their head's fucking wasted" (76), "give us a break" (68), "it was fucking murder polis" (151), "crack a light" (*say a word*) (211), "do their nut" (300) and "hell mend him" (189). Slang expressions which are also used outside Glasgow include "grass" (190), "poky" (135), "skint" (67), "supped a bit of porridge" (*served time in prison*) (236), "spook" (45), "the busies" (280), "vamoose" (255) and "that puts ye up shit creek" (187).

Some usages are typical of Glaswegian discourse style. They include the frequent use of the address forms "hen" (253), "mate" (171), "john" (213) and "pal" (194) and the use of hyperbole as in "him and another ten thousand and 96 guys" (14) were going for a job interview. Ritualised threats are disguised as questions, and there are numerous ironic retorts like "Is that a fact?" (309), "Is that right?" (241) and "That will be right." (245). Discourse markers like "now ye're talking" (166), "know what I mean" (164), "telling ye" (38), "know what I'm talking about" (307) and "ye kidding" (39) also occur frequently, no matter whether Sammy has a real conversation partner or is talking to himself.

The foregrounding of non-standard grammar, with not much less emphasis on lexis and discourse features, can be connected to the communicative framework of the mind-

style rather than a certain style of speaking. Here, accent is not as important as in a re-creation of spoken conversation. However, this pattern of foregrounding is consistent throughout the novel, i.e. it is true for Sammy's spoken dialogues as well as for other speakers' contributions. Still, this does not seem inappropriate. The novel is written from Sammy's point of view in the sense that Sammy is directly or indirectly involved, and the absence of direct speech markers together with the fact that the narrator hardly ever appears¹⁹ reinforce the impression that the whole novel is in fact set in Sammy's mind.

The moderate use of a condensed set of non-standard spellings, which does not impair the reading fluency, in conjunction with the elaborate representation of the other modules of dialect, including discourse features, creates the impression that this kind of dialect representation in fiction renders the text more authentically Glaswegian than any of the other works of Glasgow fiction discussed here. It is not an attempt at re-creating the accent and rhythm of the Glasgow dialect like Hamilton's 'Moonlighting', but a re-creation of the typical 'patter' of Glaswegians like Sammy who find themselves marginalised within the lower class, and of people like the rep Ally, and the police officers and the DSS clerks they have to deal with. This impression is supported by the fact that in *How Late It Was How Late* dialect is an organic part of the novel in the sense that it is consistently used throughout the novel for direct and free direct speech, thoughts and narrative and by all the characters. The old dilemma of Scots literary writing, which made a distinction between the use of dialect in direct speech (by certain characters) and Standard English for everything else, is overcome in Kelman's novel. Of course, the fact that there is no clear distinction between inner and outer action

¹⁹ The reader can grasp a narrator for instance in "He got to sleep eventually so that was fine, though how long he was out for I dont know, except when he did wake up he was still knacked ..." (333).

facilitates the consistent and virtually unmodified representation of dialect. What makes the representation of dialect in *How Late It Was How Late* even more authentic is the frequent use of incidents of the discourse style of Glaswegian and of discourse markers, deictic pointers, unfinished sentences and turn-taking, which render the dialectal colloquiality of the discourse so close to reality²⁰.

The other Glasgow novels and short stories discussed in this study do not display any clear pattern of foregrounding. Some could be said to put slightly more emphasis on one particular dialect module, but this is not really sufficient to speak of the foregrounding of this module. Instead, these novels foreground the Glasgow dialect as such rather than general non-standard or indeed Standard English, and discourse features indicative of a colloquial register rather than a poetic or literary style.

Thus, the implicational hierarchy of the modules of spoken dialect cannot be sustained with regard to fictional dialect representation. There can be a hierarchy of foregrounding one module, but such a hierarchical relationship is not implicational because all three (or four) modules are always present. However, most works of Glasgow fiction do not exhibit any clear pattern of foregrounding because literary considerations and the relevant communicative framework outweigh linguistic considerations of dialect representation. In other words, literary and aesthetic concerns tend to be more crucial than linguistic authenticity.

²⁰ It is worth noting in passing that the objections raised against *How Late It Was How Late* being awarded the 1994 Booker Prize focused very much on the regionality of the novel. It was considered unintelligible because of the dialect employed. This criticism, for what it was worth, sheds some light on the effectiveness of Kelman's style and pattern of foregrounding grammar, lexis and discourse features to represent the Glasgow dialect rather than focusing on re-spellings.

7.4 A MODEL OF SPEECH REALISM

The selected novels can all be positioned in the same field on the map of speech realism presented by Kirk (1997:200). This field comprises texts which foreground dialect in the sense that it is deliberately part of the work's dominant code, and that where dialogues occur, they are suggestive of real conversation.

Since Kirk's model does not account for texts written in Standard English which also foreground spoken discourse, I suggest to incorporate a field (D1) for texts representing a non-regionally restricted, non-standard variety in the discourse mode, yielding the following map of speech realism:

formal	A STANDARD + LITERARY		B DIALECT + LITERARY	
	C STANDARD + DISCOURSE	D1 NON-STANDARD + DISCOURSE		D2 DIALECT + DISCOURSE
informal				

Texts in field A do not employ discourse features to indicate the spoken mode, and no non-standard forms. For instance Jane Austen's novels belong in A. Texts in B are not suggestive of the spoken mode, i.e. they are unlikely to suggest speech realism. Nineteenth-century Glasgow fiction like Mills's *The Beggar's Benison*, or some of Thomas Hardy's novels, can be positioned in field B. Texts in C are suggestive of the spoken mode, but do not employ non-standard forms. An example of a text in field C is Kingsley Amis's *Lucky Jim*. Texts in D1 are not, strictly speaking, dialectal in the sense

that the forms represented in them are regionally restricted or at least characteristic of a particular dialect. Kelman's 'Remember Young Cecil' has to be plotted in D1. All the works of Glasgow fiction discussed in the present thesis belong in field D2. Within this field, a work of fiction can be closer to D1 or to B, depending on which aspect it puts more emphasis on. For example, *How Late It Was How Late* would be positioned at the bottom of D2 close to D1, whereas *The Dear Green Place* would appear towards the top right corner of D2. 'Moonlighting' and 'The Hon' would be plotted in the bottom right corner of D2, whereas *Its Colours They are Fine*, *Dance of the Apprentices* and *Mr Alfred MA* would range somewhere in the centre of D1 since they are very poetic in places but also display a remarkable degree of authentic dialect in dialogue.

8 ANALYSES OF SELECTED PASSAGES

"Written or printed dialect presents us with a visible reminder of the fact that language is essentially situational and transactional: its form and meaning conditioned by person, place and circumstance." (Milton 1997:203)

8.1 *NO MEAN CITY* (1935)

The following passage appears in the second half of chapter VIII, 'The Like of Them', in the novel *No Mean City* (1935) by Alexander McArthur and H. Kingsley-Long. Chapter VIII deals with the social aspirations and ambitions of slum dwellers in general and of some of the characters in particular. One of them is Peter Stark, the younger brother of the "Razor King" Johnnie. Peter is employed as a messenger-boy in a warehouse in the city centre and lodges with his girlfriend's family in a better-off district of Glasgow than his native Gorbals. He learns only through a chance encounter with his future sister-in-law that Johnnie is going to be married soon. Shortly before the wedding, Peter takes the opportunity of a business errand to visit his mother in the family home in the Gorbals. However, his mother is helping at her neighbour's Mrs Donaldson, who is in labour and waiting for the midwife to arrive. Almost as unexpected as his mother's absence is the fact that Johnnie is at home. He has just wakened up after sleeping off the effects of a heavy forenoon drinking session. Now he greets Peter with an ironic remark about the latter's visit, which he claims is "a pure treat" for the family since Peter only visits very rarely these days.

(1a)"You're lookin' grand," Johnnie went on evenly, (1b)"collar and tie and aw! (2)You should have said you were coming. (3)The lassies wid have stayed in for ye, nae doot. (4)And Ah wid have bin in ma paraffin, tae. (5)Ah widnae be surprised if the Donaldson woman wid have put off bairnin' for a wee while so that Mither cud be here tae greet ye instead of helpin' to bring another breadsnapper intae the world."

(6)"Aw, to hell with your kiddin', Johnnie! (7)I was just out from the warehouse to see a customer for Mr. Morgan, and being not far from here I thought I wid look in to see Mither before I went back. (8) So she's away to the Donaldson woman? (9)There's some will never learn sense. (10)Eight of a family already and she forty-four or five if she's a day ... (11a)She should ask some of the lassies what tae do to stop accidents, (11b)or mebbe how to poison that drunken old man of hers."

Johnnie began to rub his hair vigorously with his towel and he replied at jerky intervals.

(12)"Education, Peter - we're no' aw so educated as you. (13a)You'll be for labour these days, mebbe - (13b)socialism by slow degrees - (13c)more schooling for the kids - (13d)an' less kids for the schools - (13e)what wey should the workin' classes have families they canny afford? (14a)I know - dumb brutes like yon Donaldson - (14b)folk who havenae the sense or the guts tae hold a respectable job - (14c)only the one pleasure in life, (14d)breeding fodder for the capitalist cannons. (15)Oh, ay! (16)Ah've heard it aw! (17)Ah can almost talk the language."

(18a)"If Ah'm anything," his brother retorted, (18b)"Ah'm a Communist, (18c) but Ah'm no' interested in politics at all. (19)For all I care Donaldson and the like of him can go on havin' kids till he's played out. (20)I'm only saying I wouldny be for having a big family myself."

(21)"No? Well, wait till you're married and then we'll see."

(22)"Sure. There's plenty time. (23)No sae much for you though, Johnnie, from what they tell me. (24)I hear it's all fixed for you to marry Lizzie Ramsay in a week or two from now."

(25)"Who telt ye?" Johnnie asked the question with a scowl.

(26)"I heard it first from Martha Ramsay a week last Saturday."

(27)"Did you? (28)An' she wid have been prood tae gi'e ye the glad news, mebbe. (29)Her sister - one o' the Ramsays o' Mathieson Street - merrite tae Razor King! (30)And what did ye say to her, Peter? (31)Did ye tell her ye were no' seein' so much of the family nowadays? (32)Did ye make it clear that there's two kinds of Starks - yours and mine?"

(McArthur & Kingsley-Long 1957:90-91)

Although there is only one narratorial intervention in the passage, the contrast between the language of the narrator and that of the characters is very marked. The former is Standard English¹, whereas the latter is rather dense Glaswegian. However, the direct speech passages here contain some instances of code-drifting and code-switching².

The speech situation, in which two brothers meet unexpectedly in their mother's house, objectively calls for an intimate register. Furthermore, since the conversation is between two lower class members of society, the use of dialect is appropriate as well. The topics of the conversation move from family and neighbourhood issues to politics and back to family affairs. It can therefore be expected that the register varies according to the formality of the topic. In the exchange about politics, mock-imitations of socialist slogans by Johnnie and his own comments on such slogans are responsible for some code-shifting. Also, Peter's social ambitions and his desire to be regarded as belonging to a higher social class than the rest of the family, who have not managed to leave the Gorbals, are reflected in the relatively scarce use of dialect features of his first contribution. In the course of the conversation his language becomes more densely dialectal. The reasons for this code-drifting are presumably twofold. On the one hand, Peter cannot help feeling inferior to his older, stronger and more famous (or infamous) brother, so that he accommodates his language variety to Johnnie's. On the other hand, Peter finds himself back in the place where he grew up and where everybody spoke and still speaks Glaswegian.

¹ Occasional dialect or slang words tend to appear in inverted commas in the narrative in other parts of the novel.

² Cf. also section 8.1.5, p.293 below.

These factors partly account for the fact that, despite the objectively intimate speech situation, dialect features are not consistently represented.

8.1.1 PHONOLOGY

In the passage both General Scots and characteristic Glaswegian features of pronunciation are represented by non-standard spellings. Furthermore, there are a few idiosyncratic spellings and one or two instances of eye-dialect.

L-vocalisation in the context of a preceding vowel and a following morpheme-boundary is suggested by the spelling <aw> (*all*) (1b,12,16). The <w> indicates that the historical [l] was not simply deleted but indeed vocalised. The sequence <aw> suggests the pronunciation [ɔ:]. Incidentally, the same spelling <aw> appears also in the exclamation in (6), but without the implication of l-vocalisation.

The spelling <gi'e> (28) indicates the General Scots feature of v-deletion and suggests the pronunciation [gi:]. Historically, the stressed vowel in late Old English [gri:və] was lowered to Early Scots [gevə]; v-deletion, schwa-loss and compensatory lengthening resulted in early Middle Scots [ge:], and in the course of the Great Vowel Shift this high mid front vowel was raised to Middle and Modern Scots [gi:]. Furthermore, the apostrophe signals the deletion of [v]. Although irrelevant in terms of pronunciation, it could be argued that the apostrophe is a signal that the spelling <gi'e> is merely a deviation from the standard spelling. In that case, <gi'e> is not recognised as a historical Scots form, but treated as a deviation from the standard form.

The present participle inflectional ending is represented as <-in'> in <lookin'> (1a),

<helpin'> (5), <workin'> (13e), <havin'> (19) and <seein'> (31), and as is the verbal noun ending in <bairnin'> (5) and <kiddin'> (6). The spelling <-in'> suggests the pronunciation [ɛn] or [m]. The weakened inflectional ending is a common Scots feature which has its origins in the merging in speech of the verbal noun ending <-ing> and the present participle ending <-and> in the Older Scots period.

The digraph <ae> in <tae> (4,5,11a,14b,28,29) and <intae> (5) on the one hand, and in <nae> (3), <widnae> (5), <havenae> (14b) and <sae> (23) on the other, suggests the realisation [e:]. This pronunciation has its historical origins in two different developments. In <tae> and <intae> [e:] is the reflex of the Older Scots [ø], whereas the [e:] suggested by <nae> and <sae> reflects the fact that Old English [ɑ:] resulted in Modern Scots [e:]. In Lowland English, the reflex of Old English [ɑ:] is [o:].

The double vowel spelling <oo> in <doot> (3) and <prood> (28) indicates the monophthongal pronunciation [u]. This anglicised spelling reflects the fact that the diphthongisation of Middle English [u:], which happened south of the Humber in the course of the Great Vowel Shift, did not take place north of the Humber.

The spelling <mither> (5,7) reflects northern fronting of the original stressed vowel [o:], which was followed by shortening to [ɪ].

The graph <i> is also used to indicate the characteristic Glaswegian pronunciation [ɛ̃] or [ɪ] of the vowel in <wid> (3,4,5,7,28) and <widnae> (5). The spelling <bin> (*been*) (4) too suggests the pronunciation [ɪ] of the vowel in unstressed position. However, [ɪ] also occurs in *been* in unstressed position in Standard English; thus, the spelling <bin> could arguably be considered as an instance of eye-dialect.

Other non-standard spellings representing shibboleths of Glasgow pronunciation include <a> in <ma> (4) to suggest unstressed [ʌ], the exclamation <aw> (6) to signal

the pronunciation [ɔ:], and the enclitic negative particle <-ny> in <canny> (13e) and <wouldny> (20), which suggests the pronunciation [nɪ] or [nɛ].

Consonant deletion is represented by the spellings <an> (*and*) (13d, 28), <o> (*of*) (29), and <no> (*not*) (12, 18c, 23, 31). The negative particle is pronounced [no:] in Glaswegian.

There are three instances of idiosyncratic spellings. The first person singular pronoun is represented by the spelling <Ah> (4, 5, 16, 17, 18a-c), which indicates the Glaswegian pronunciation [a]³; the retention of the capitalisation is a sign of the assimilation to standard spelling conventions. The spelling <mebbe> (*maybe*) (11b, 13a, 28) suggests the casual or non-emphatic pronunciation [mebi].

Another idiosyncratic spelling (or indeed a misprint) is <merrite> (*married*) (29). The <-err-> spelling suggests the Glaswegian merger of [e:r] with [ɛ:r]⁴ as well as the fact that the vowel is not [a] as in Lowland English. But the spelling <-ite> of the inflectional ending of the past participle is ambiguous. Because of the final <-e>, this spelling actually suggests the pronunciation [ɪt] rather than the presumably intended [ɪt]. Conceivably, the <-it-> spelling is meant to be suggestive of the Scots inflectional ending of the past tense and past participle forms of weak verbs, as it is the case with the spellings <startit> (96), <hurtit> (24) or <skelpit> (23); in that case the final <-e> in <merrite> has to be regarded as a misprint. There are two other non-standard spellings of *married* in the novel, <merried> (120) and <mairrit> (31), and the standard spelling <married> (92) is employed as well. From this evidence the reader has to infer an

³ in unstressed position. Otherwise, the pronunciation is [a:] due to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule.

⁴ The merger of [e:r] with [ɛ:r] is also indicated by the spellings <Merry> (*Mary*) (77), <kerrying> (*carrying*) (13) or <sterr> (*stairs*) (132).

inconsistency in the representation of the non-standard pronunciation of certain words rather than subtle differences in pronunciation.

The spelling <wey> (*way*) (13e) is a possible Scots spelling variant of *way*, which occurs in particular in the combination with the interrogative pronoun *what* as here. Whether or not the authors were familiar with this variant or only intended to emphasise the non-standardness of the expression by a non-standard spelling cannot be decided, although the latter seems much more likely. Also, *way* can in fact be realised with the diphthong [ɛɪ] or [əɪ]. In this case, the spelling <wey> would serve as an indication of a non-standard realisation.

There are in fact no instances of non-standard spellings which could unambiguously be considered as eye-dialect spellings. Apart from the spelling <bin> for the unstressed pronunciation of *been*, the spelling <cud> (*could*) (5) might be interpreted as an example of eye-dialect. This spelling, however, is suggestive of the pronunciation [kʌd] by analogy to spellings such as <bud>, rather than [kʊd]. In this sense, this spelling is not strictly speaking an eye-dialect form since it signals a different pronunciation from the standard one.

8.1.2 LEXIS

The number of non-standard lexical items in this passage is not great, but some of these items deserve particular attention. The General Scots words represented include "wee" (5), "ay" (*yes*) (15) and "lassies" (3,11a). "Lassies" in (3) refers to Peter's and Johnnie's sisters and in (11a) to young girls in general. The General Scots word "grand"

(1a), which here means splendid or fine, has been in use with this meaning since the 19th century. The expression "what wey" (13e) originally meant how or in what manner, but since the 18th century in Lowland English and Scots it has acquired the additional meaning it has here, namely why or for what reason. The idiomatic expression "I wouldny be for ..." (20) might possibly be a loan translation from Gaelic *cha bhithinn airson ...*, which means I would not be in favour of ... or simply I would not want.

A lexical item which bears a close resemblance to a General Scots word, but which could also represent an ad-hoc formation by the authors, is "bairnin" (5). The Scots word *bairn* (*child*) is also used as a verb, but only with the meaning to get a woman with child, so that the verbal noun "bairnin" should have the meaning of making pregnant. However, it is not used in this sense in the passage: Johnnie refers to "the Donaldson woman" who would have to "put off bairnin". Thus, "bairnin" is not used with the General Scots meaning here, but with that of giving birth.

An indigenous Glaswegian lexical item is the term "paraffin" (4), which has earlier in the novel been glossed as "appearance" (81). Originally, "paraffin" forms the first part of the term *paraffinile*; "paraffin" is thus rhyming slang for style. In the passage, it cannot be rendered as appearance but has to be taken as something like good clothes or fancy outfit.

Finally, the word "breadsnapper" (*child*) (5) has to be mentioned. Its occurrence in *No Mean City* marks the earliest written evidence of this term according to the *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*⁵, where the authors McArthur & Kingsley-Long are explicitly mentioned. "Breadsnapper" according to this source has been used by the

⁵ Cf. Beale (ed) (1986:13).

Glasgow lower classes since the 1880s. It has been suggested that "breadsnapper" is an endocentric compound formed by analogy with breadwinner. The use of this expression has spread from Glaswegian to West Central Scots and is now also common in Ulster Scots.

8.1.3 GRAMMAR

8.1.3.1 Morphology

The passage displays a number of non-standard morphological features involving pronouns, demonstratives, verbs, comparatives and one ambiguous form.

The General Scots second person pronoun "ye" (3,5,25,28,30,31,32) and the demonstrative "yon" (14a) are represented in the passage.

In terms of verbal morphology, "merrite" (sic!) (29) can be taken as representing the Scots past participle of *marry* despite its ambiguous spelling; the suffix <-it(e)> indicates the past participle. The verb "telt" (25) is the simple past form of *tell*, which in Scots and Lowland English is a weak verb, whereas in Standard English it belongs to the mixed conjugation class. Here too the <-t> spelling signals the Scots inflectional ending.

The only non-standard comparative is "less kids" (13d); the (formal) standard comparative of count nouns is *fewer*.

The ambiguous morphological form mentioned above is the singular in "the like of him" (19). In the chapter heading (85), the singular "like" occurs, whereas in other places the plural is used, as for instance in "the likes of us" (90). Since there is no apparent reason for this inconsistency, and since the singular is semantically inaccurate, I would

argue that the use of the singular is in fact a misprint. This argument is supported by the fact that this is certainly not an isolated incident in the Corgi edition⁶.

8.1.3.2 Syntax

A number of cases of non-standard syntactical features are represented in the passage, but they are for the best part Lowland English rather than Scots forms, and there is also one nonce formation.

The first non-standard syntactical form in the passage is the omission of a verb of motion in "she's away to the Donaldson woman" (8). In the cleft construction "there's some will never learn" (9) the subject relative pronoun is deleted; there-clefting has a mainly existential function. This feature is also common in Hiberno-English, but Irish influence can apparently not be confirmed in the area of there-clefting (Filppula 1986:262). The expression "plenty time" (23) is an example of an open class quantifier, which in Lowland English does not take *of*.

In the utterance "eight of a family already and she forty-four or five ..." (10) the predicate does not contain a finite verb. There is a possibility that this usage might be derived from Gaelic or Irish, which deletes a finite form of the verb *be* when referring to a subject that has already been introduced. This construction is particularly common in Highland English and also Hiberno-English. However, evidence points to Middle English and Middle Scots origins of the subordinate and-clause⁷. Finally, the verbal noun

⁶ In the chosen passage alone there are two more misprints, the first of which I have corrected (cf. above p. 261): in (18a) there must be a comma instead of a full stop after "retorted", and "labour" (13a) should be capitalised, since it obviously refers to the political party rather than labour in general.

⁷ Häcker (1994:45) argues that a Gaelic influence in the case of subordinate and-clauses can be excluded, since the nominative use of the personal pronoun in Hiberno-English and 18th century Scots is incompatible with an alleged Gaelic origin.

"bairnin" (5) has to be discussed with regard to its non-standard complementation. The Scots verb *bairn* means *make pregnant* and thus belongs to the mono-transitive verb group. In (5), though, the verbal noun "bairnin" has the meaning of *give birth* and in this context belongs to the intransitive verb group. Such a change of complementation is not documented anywhere else. It could be surmised that the intransitive verb "bairnin" is a nonce formation by the authors, but of course, there remains an equal possibility that the intransitive use has simply not been recorded elsewhere.

The auxiliaries "canny" (13e) and "wouldny" (20) have the unstressed enclitic negative particle <-ny>, whereas "havenae" (14b) has the stressed particle <-nae>. However, there is no obvious reason why two different forms are employed: in (20) the emphasis is on the pronoun "I" preceding "wouldny", so that the unstressed form is adequate. In both (13e) and (14b), however, the emphasis is on the following element, i.e. on "afford" and "the sense" respectively, so that the unstressed form *haveny* would have been appropriate as well. In "ye were no' seein' ..." (31), the negative particle serves as an isolate. It is used in its Glaswegian and Lowland English form *no'*. Furthermore, this is an example of the common Lowland English feature of retention of the free negative particle, where Standard English prefers the contracted form.

The use of the modal auxiliary "should" in (11a) is noteworthy. "Should" is used intrinsically in Glaswegian as well as in Lowland English to express a moral obligation whereas Standard English prefers the modal auxiliary *ought to*.

A characteristic Glaswegian tag is "and aw" (1b). It is used as a kind of summarising tag at the end of a list of items to express that the items mentioned are only a small selection of what could be listed; "and aw" is a fine example of the Glaswegian predilection of exaggeration.

8.1.4 DISCOURSE FEATURES

The Glaswegian predilection for irony is captured by some of Johnnie's remarks in the passage, as for instance in his assertion that their sisters would have remained in the house just in order to see Peter in dress clothes, and that he himself would have got dressed up for the occasion of Peter's visit if he had had a warning (3,4). The irony turns into sarcasm when Johnnie suggests that Mrs Donaldson would have postponed "bairnin" to let Peter's mother meet him (5). However, there is nothing characteristically Glaswegian in this use of irony.

The only discourse marker in the passage is "oh, ay!" (15). It marks the beginning of Johnnie's own sarcastic comment on the slogans of the Labour Party he has just reiterated. In this sense, the discourse marker signals that the recitation is finished and that Johnnie's personal view on the slogans is to follow. In spoken conversation, this break would presumably be marked by a change of intonation as well.

8.1.5 CONCLUSION

The passage succeeds in various respects, but it also has a number of shortcomings; in particular with regard to the representation of phonological features of Glaswegian, the passage is limited and almost fails more than it succeeds.

On the whole, the representation of Glaswegian pronunciation is not entirely implausible because none of the forms depicted are untypical of Glaswegian. However, the graphological representation of its phonology by non-standard spellings is limited.

Whether or not the authors were familiar with this variant or only intended to emphasise the non-standardness of the expression by a non-standard spelling cannot be decided, although the latter seems much more likely. Also, *way* can in fact be realised with the diphthong [ei] or [ai]. In this case, the spelling <wey> would serve as an indication of a non-standard realisation.

There are in fact no instances of non-standard spellings which could unambiguously be considered as eye-dialect spellings. Apart from the spelling <bin> for the unstressed pronunciation of *been*, the spelling <cud> (*could*) (5) might be interpreted as an example of eye-dialect. This spelling, however, is suggestive of the pronunciation [kad] by analogy to spellings such as <bud>, rather than [kʰʌd]. In this sense, this spelling is not strictly speaking an eye-dialect form since it signals a different pronunciation from the standard one.

8.1.2 LEXIS

The number of non-standard lexical items in this passage is not great, but some of these items deserve particular attention. The General Scots words represented include

A number of typical features are not represented at all⁸, and there is no consistency in (nor any apparent reason for) the arbitrary distribution of forms which are represented. It is true that code-drifting and -shifting play a vital part in the pattern of dialect representation. The sections (6-11b) and (12-17) are cases in point. The section (6-11b) is Peter's first contribution to the conversation. The reader has already learned that Peter has more or less turned his back on his family and the Gorbals where he grew up because he has convinced himself that his social aspirations demand a breach with his past. Also, his work in a warehouse in the town centre and his abode outside the Gorbals bring him into contact with people who are better-off than those he grew up with. All these factors combine to explain the fact that the language variety Peter has been cultivating is closer to Standard English (or at least Lowland English) than to Glaswegian. Accordingly, in his first contribution his use of non-standard forms is markedly lower than that of Johnnie's, and the non-standard forms pertain predominantly to lexis and grammar rather than phonology. Where a non-standard pronunciation is indeed represented, it is often either a weak or unstressed form not markedly different from Standard English, or a General Scots feature.

However, in the course of the conversation Peter's speech becomes increasingly marked by Glaswegian features. The reasons for this code-drifting are presumably of a psycholinguistic nature. Peter has always been uneasy in the company of his stronger big brother, and the sneer implied in Johnnie's greeting has not done anything to alleviate this feeling. It is therefore understandable that Peter's speech approximates to that of Johnnie who, though socially inferior, appears to be the superior character. Also, the

⁸ Cf. p.294 below.

exchange between the brothers is about matters they feel rather passionately about. Strong emotions come into play as well, and in emotional situations people tend to revert to their native language variety. Hence, the representation of Glaswegian in the passage becomes increasingly prominent.

Johnnie's recital of socialist slogans (13b-14d) is characterised by the fact that all lexical words apart from <wey>, <canny> and <havenae> are represented according to standard spelling conventions, whereas a number of function words are represented with non-standard spellings. This kind of code-shifting is obviously due to the fact that it is precisely slogans (and *not* a coherent argument) which Johnnie is rehearsing here. This piece-by-piece rendition is explained beforehand by the narratorial comment that Johnnie is rubbing his hair dry and thus only speaks at "jerky intervals".

Despite the code-drifting and -shifting in the two sections discussed, there are still obvious inconsistencies of dialect representation. For instance, the sequence <tae do> (11a) should be either <tae dae> or <to do>, since both words have the same vowel and there is no obvious reason why they should be pronounced differently. The isolated representation of an unstressed word suggested by the spelling <tae> is rather implausible.

In passages where code-drifting is not implied, a great number of spellings are standard and fail to indicate Glaswegian pronunciation. First and foremost, there is no representation of a glottal stop e.g. in <put> (5) or <but> (18c), nor indeed anywhere else in the novel. The first vowel in <breadsnapper> should have been represented by <ei> to suggest the characteristic Scots pronunciation [i] (which is employed in other cases, e.g. in <heid> (110) or <deid> (221)). There is no indication of either the epenthetic vowel or the pronunciation [ʌ] of the stressed vowel in the spelling <world>

(5), and no suggestion of the pronunciation [wa(:)n] in the standard spelling <one> (14c,29), although <wan> (65,124) is used in other parts of the novel. The auxiliary <have> (2,3,4,5,28) could have been reduced to <a> to suggest the characteristic Glaswegian elided form [a] of the auxiliary. Also, the Glaswegian deletion of the final [f] in <myself> (20) could have been represented by the spelling <mysel'>.

There are also inconsistencies in the distribution of non-standard spellings. In a number of cases, despite the fact that a non-standard spelling has been used elsewhere in the passage, and despite the fact that there is no reason why it should not be employed in other cases, the standard spelling is still preferred⁹. Thus, the deletion of the word-final consonant in <and> (1b,4,30), <of> (5,19,31) and <with> (6) respectively could have been suggested by the spellings <an'>, <o'> and <wi'>. The Scots pronunciation [te:] of *to* could have been suggested by the spelling <tae> instead of <to> in (5,30), and the digraph <ae> could have been used to suggest the Scots pronunciation of the vowel in <from> (26) and in <so> (31). The phenomenon of l-vocalisation is not indicated by the spellings <hold> (14b) and <at all> (18c), and the spelling <have> (13e) fails to suggest v-deletion. The weakened inflectional ending of the present participle is not represented in <coming> (3), <breeding> (14d), <saying> (20) and <having> (20). The pronunciation [u] of the vowel in <out> (19) is not suggested by a non-standard spelling¹⁰. The first person pronoun could have been represented as <Ah> instead of <I>

⁹ The following points are based on the assumption that natural dialect speech does not usually include other forms in a short stretch of speech such as the contributions by Peter and Johnnie in this passage. Code-drifting cannot account for every inconsistency of dialect representation.

¹⁰ Since in other places in the novel, the digraph <oo> suggests the non-standard pronunciation [u], it would be wrong to assume that <ou> here is an Older Scots spelling convention indicating [u], rather than the standard spelling.

in (20,24,26), and the unstressed auxiliary <been> (28) might be spelt <bin> by analogy to (4).

With regard to lexis, the word "kids" (13c,19) seems odd. Not only is the Glaswegian *weans* or the General Scots *bairns* not used, but the term children does not appear here either. In (13c) the lexical choice can be explained by the observation that "kids" presumably forms part of the slogan Johnnie is reciting, and it is taken up later by Peter when he is applying the slogans to the Donaldson's circumstances in (19).

In terms of grammar, it might be argued that in (21,27) the unstressed form of the second person pronoun *ye* should have been used instead of "you", and likewise that instead of "your" (6) the unstressed form of the possessive pronoun *yur* or *yer* could have been represented. Finally, in common Glasgow usage the past participle in "you should have said..." (2) often takes the form of the third person present tense form *says*, and "have" tends to be contracted to [a] in connected speech.

In conclusion it can be maintained that the representation of Glaswegian phonological forms by non-standard spellings and their distribution is arbitrary and in this sense implausible. The reader gets the impression that in this passage (as well as throughout the novel) the intention to give an accurate representation of Glaswegian pronunciation takes second place to the implication of the Glaswegian-ness of the dialogues. There is of course the danger which every writer of dialect fiction faces, that a non-standard form is made salient in writing by employing it consistently, while such a regular occurrence of a dialect feature is at least unusual in spoken dialect. It would not be appropriate to represent dialect pronunciation with utter consistency and regardless of psycho- and sociolinguistic factors, conversation partners and topics, and different speech situations. However, avoiding this paradoxical situation of making a non-standard feature salient by

unrealistic regularity through the arbitrary depiction of non-standard and standard forms is no solution. There has to be an internal consistency of representation taking account of factors influencing the density of the dialect. In particular in a short passage like the one discussed here, inconsistency of dialect representation is implausible and, perhaps worse, unnecessary.

With regard to functional variation, it can be maintained that the informal register with varying degrees of informality according to the different topics discussed in the conversation is plausible. Still, even in this respect the reader gets the impression that code-switching and -drifting is not represented entirely skilfully because of the inconsistencies discussed above. The intention of the authors seems to be to demonstrate the non-standardness, even outlandishness of Glaswegian to a standard-reading audience who do not wish to be bothered with too much phonological detail as long as they get an impression of what Glaswegian and its speakers are like.

8.2. *DANCE OF THE APPRENTICES* (1948)

The following passage is taken from the beginning of the first chapter of part two of the novel *Dance of the Apprentices* (1948) by Edward Gaitens. Mrs Macdonnel is about to hold a "minodge". As the narrator explains, this is a kind of easy-payment club whose organiser "receives a small commission from the shop at which each member in turn, according to the number on her ticket, is obliged to cash a voucher for a stipulated amount of goods" (139). The expression "minodge" reflects the Glaswegian pronunciation of the linguistically and socially unfamiliar first word in the advertisement "MENAGES SUPPLIED, ONLY FINEST GOODS, BEST COMMISSION GIVEN", which is displayed in the shops granting commission for "minodge" organisers.

In a scene immediately preceding the passage, Mrs Macdonnel is preparing for the "minodge" by cutting slips of paper to make the required tickets. She takes a proud look round her sparkling kitchen and anticipates with pleasure the envy and surprise of her neighbours about her new acquisitions and the cleanliness of the place. She is interrupted in her musings by a knock on the door; her twelve year old daughter Mary is coming home from school, her hands and face pink with cold.

(1)'Oh, it's cauld, maw!' exclaimed the girl timidly - for she was never sure of her mother's temper - throwing down her ragged satchel and putting her hands to the heat.

(2a)'Ah want ye tae write oot they minodge tickets,' said her mother, pointing to the saucerful of slips, (2b)'hae ye goat a pencil?' and she looked expectantly at her daughter. The child searched hurriedly in her satchel and said: (3)'Och, maw, Ah had a pencil an' it's drapped through a hole in me school-bag!'

(4a)'We'll need tae hurry!' said her mother, (4b)'they'll be here the noo.' They both began an agitated search in holes and corners till they unearthed a two-inch pencil-stub from a dusty tangle of string, thread, wool, buttons and pins at the bottom of a big brass vase on the mantleshef. (5)'It needs shairpnin!'

complained Mrs Macdonnel, slicing the stub unskilfully with a long bread-knife. The girl began writing numbers on the slips of paper with the reduced pencil, then ceased in a moment, crying: (6a)'Och, maw, Ah canny write! (6b)'Ma fingers are that stiff!'

(7)'Come here an' warm thim.' Mrs Macdonnel sat back in her chair and received the small hands in her own. The girl smiled gratefully for the embrace and winced at the pain of quickening blood. (8)'Ma fingers are tinglin!'

she laughed.

(9)'Whaur's yer wee gloves?' asked her mother. The child answered in a frightened voice: (10a)'Oh, maw, Ah've loast thim! (10b)'They were ta'en fae ma desk this moarnin!'

and Mrs Macdonnel echoed: (11a)'My, it's an awfu' school, that Saint Peter's! (11b)'The wee yins are aye stealin!'

Then she said, thinking of her commission: (11c)'Never mind! Ah'll buy ye a nice new pair fae the minodge money,' and the girl smiled with relief.

(12a)'Ma ain pet! Ma ain wee lassie!' Mrs Macdonnel murmured, as she drew her daughter's read head to her breast and bent her own greying, red head to it. (12b)'Ah wonder whaur Jimmy is the night? (12c)'Ma brave wee son! (12d)'Mibbe he's lyin' oan a big field in yon Mespotamy wi' nae yin near him, cryin' fur me!'

She began weeping easily and the girl drew away her head, scared by the gloomy vision. (13a)'Naw he isnae, maw!'

she cried. 'Naw he isnae! (13b)'He'll come hame when the war's done. (13c)'He's no deid!'

There was a knock at the stairhead door. Mrs Macdonnel quickly wiped her own and the girl's eyes with her apron. (14)'See wha 'tis,' she urged, hastily tidying her hair. (15a)'Mibbe it's Missis Glynn,' said the girl, (15b)'she aye comes first. (15c)'It's like her chap.'

But Mrs Macdonnel, who, like all tenement housewives, knew the individual peculiarities of the knocks of her friends and neighbours, said with absolute certainty: (16a)'Naw it isnae. It's wee Minnie Miligan. (16b)'Ah ken fine her sleekit wee chap!'

and she laughed slyly.

(Gaitens 1990:140-141)

There is a sharp contrast between the exclusively standard variety used by the narrator and that spoken by the characters, which is exclusively Glaswegian. This kind of code-switching between narrative and direct speech passages is, of course, deeply rooted in Scottish dialect literature. Furthermore, there is no mediation between narrative and dialogue in the form of explanations or glosses. Indeed, the contrast between these two modes is reinforced by the absence of narratorial interventions in the form of explanations of dialect passages though, of course, there are good artistic reasons for this.

However, the omniscient narrator functions as a literary mediator by providing the text-specific background information necessary for the reader to interpret the clues to characterisation given in the direct speech passages. Thus the dialogues, while furthering the plot by providing information the reader would otherwise not get, also serve to corroborate the narrator's comments. In this way, the characterisation through direct speech supports the characterisation by the narrator.

The language variety represented in the direct speech passages is appropriate to the intimate speech situation. The setting is Mrs Macdonnel's kitchen, that is, in the place in which she and her family are most at ease, and the only place where Mrs Macdonnel rules supreme when her husband is out. The conversation is between mother and daughter about everyday occurrences and about other family members; hence, the informal or colloquial register is more than adequate. Furthermore, Mrs Macdonnel is preparing a domestic event for her neighbours, who presumably have the same social background as herself. Thus, the linguistic form of the direct speech passages is a necessary part of fictional realism.

8.2.1 PHONOLOGY

The passage has graphological representations of Scots phonological features and of shibboleths of Glaswegian pronunciation. The Scots forms include l-vocalisation indicated by the spelling <awfu> (11a), which suggests the pronunciation [ɔfu]. Here the phonetic context for the vocalisation of [l] is a preceding short vowel [u] and a following morpheme-boundary. Historically, Early Scots [fuɫ] was affected first by the velarisation of the approximant to [fuɫ̠] and subsequently by its vocalisation, so that from the Middle Scots period we have [fu].¹

V-deletion is represented in the spelling <hae> (2b), which suggests the pronunciation [he:]. In historical terms, [v] was deleted in Early Scots [havə]; the new form then underwent schwa-loss and compensatory lengthening. In the course of the Great Vowel Shift early Middle Scots [ha:] was raised to Middle Scots [he:] and finally to Modern Scots [he:]. It is interesting that there is no apostrophe to indicate the deletion of [v] in <hae>. This spelling also occurs elsewhere in the novel (116,126); from this evidence it can be inferred that it is no mistake or accident that there is no apostrophe in <hae>.

The double vowel spelling <oo> in <oot> (2a) and <noo> (4b) suggests the Scots monophthongal realisations [u] and [u:]. This digraph indicates an assimilation to the standard spelling convention by analogy with the spelling of words like <wood> and <root>. In this sense, it is an anglicised replacement for the Older Scots spelling <ou>

¹ In some Scots dialects, however, Middle Scots [fu] developed into the alternative Modern Scots form [fʌɫ] through de-vocalisation and velarisation of [l] plus lowering and unrounding of [u] to [ʌ].

which served to indicate the pronunciation [u:]². However, Gaitens's decision to suggest the pronunciation [u:] by the digraph <oo> is adequate, since he could not have assumed a knowledge of Older Scots spelling conventions on the part of his readers³. More importantly, the spelling <ou> would presumably have suggested a diphthongal realisation to his standard-reading audience, whereas the digraph <oo> on the basis of the standard spelling clearly indicates a monophthongal realisation.

The digraph <au> suggests the Scots pronunciation [ɔ:] of the vowel in <whaur> (*where*) (9,12b), and [ɔ] in <cauld> (1). The spelling <wha> (*who*) (14) indicates the pronunciation [ɑ:] of the vowel. The Scots realisation [χ] is indicated by <ch> in <och> (3,6a).

One spelling which appears to suggest a Scots form is <ta'en> (10b). However, this representation is ambiguous. It can either represent the Scots past participle, in which case the spelling indicates the pronunciation [ten]; or it can suggest the Glaswegian allophonic realisation of the velar stop /k/ as a glottal stop, in which case the pronunciation [teʔən] has to be assumed. The first interpretation is more plausible, though, since there is no other obvious attempt in the novel to represent a glottal stop⁴.

There are a number of representations of Scots <a>-forms where Standard English has

² In Older Scots, the Scottish Vowel Length Rule was not yet in operation and the vowel was phonetically [u:]. Cf. also "houlat" in Holland's *The Buke of the Houlat* of the 1440s, and "foulis" in Dunbar's *The Golden Targe* of 1508. The sequence <uCe> (as for instance in <Buke>) reflects northern fronting of [o:] to [ø:] or [y:]; <uCe> does not signal the pronunciation [u:].

³ Of course, it is also doubtful whether Gaitens himself was familiar with Older Scots spelling conventions.

⁴ Only the spelling <watter> (*water*) (157) might be suggestive of a glottal stop, but this is by no means the only possible interpretation of this spelling. The typical Glaswegian pronunciation of *water* is [waʔər], and the double consonant spelling is suggestive of a preceding short vowel [a]. It can also be interpreted as a realisation of [a] by analogy to words like <rattle> where <a> is followed by <tt>.

<o>-forms. These include the digraph <ae> in <tae> (2a), <hae> (2b), <fae> (10b,11c) and <nae> or <-nae> (12d, 13a,16a), the digraph <ai> in <ain> (12a) and the sequence <aCe> in <hame> (13b). All three spelling variants <ae>, <ai> and <aCe> suggest the Scots pronunciation [e(:)]. This is the reflex of Early Scots non-rounded [a:]. Both Scots <a>-forms and English <o>-forms represent sounds that derive from Old English [ɑ:], but in Southern English varieties [ɑ:] was rounded and raised to Middle English [ɔ:] and in the course of the Great Vowel Shift further raised to [o:] before being diphthongised from the 18th century⁵. In northern English and Early Scots varieties, Old English [ɑ:] was fronted to [a:], raised to [ɛ:] and in the course of the Great Vowel Shift to [e:], and finally shortened in certain contexts due to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule.

The form [fe:] (*from*), which is represented by the spelling <fae>, is more common in Glaswegian than the General Scots form *frae*. The inconsistent representation of the stressed vowel [e(:)] is, of course, in keeping with Scots spelling conventions⁶.

There are also spelling inconsistencies in the representation of characteristic shibboleths of Glaswegian pronunciation. The low mid back vowel [ɔ(:)] is suggested by the two spelling variants <au> in <cauld> (1) and <whaur> (9,12b), and by <aw> in <maw> (1,3,6a,10a,13a) and <naw> (13a,16a), where Glaswegian has [nɔ:] and Lowland English has [no:]. The lowering of [o:] to [ɔ:] and occasionally [ɑ:] of the vowel in the negative particle is very common in Glaswegian.

The spelling <ai> is used to represent two different pronunciations, [e] in <ain> (12a)

⁵ The realisation [o:] was borrowed by anglicised Scots from Early Modern English in the 18th century, and has found its way into the Lowland English accent.

⁶ By c.1500, <ai> spellings predominated, but there was a tendency to keep the older spelling <aCe> before nasals. In word-final position in monosyllables, <ae> spellings were used (Murison 1977:28-29).

and [ɛ(:)] in <shairpnin> (5). The common Glaswegian feature of pre-rhotic vowel lowering is also suggested by the spelling <hairm> (157).

Another spelling suggestive of Glaswegian pronunciation is <oa> for [o] in <goat> (*got*) (2b), <loast> (10a) and <oan> (12d), and for [o:] in <moarnin> (10b). Today, this kind of raising of the earlier Scots low mid back vowels to a high mid back vowel is in fact one of the salient markers of Glaswegian pronunciation⁷.

The spelling <drapped> (3) indicates the pronunciation [a] of the stressed vowel, where Lowland English has [ɔ]. The fronting of [ɔ] to [a] in a labial environment is common in West Central Scots, not only in Glaswegian. This also applies to the Scots preservation of the long vowel from Old English [ɛ:], which was raised to [e:] and [i:] and then shortened to [i] in accordance with the Scottish Vowel Length Rule. Thus, the spelling <deid> (13c) suggests the pronunciation [did].

The representation of the vowel in <fur> (12d) suggests the pronunciation [ʌ], which is a characteristic Lowland English realisation of a short vowel unaffected by the Scottish Vowel Length rule before post-vocalic or rhyme-/r/.

Another characteristic Glaswegian pronunciation indicated by a non-standard spelling is the word-final unstressed [ʌ], which is represented by <a>, as in <ma> (6b,8,10b,12a,12c). This feature is a Glasgow shibboleth and also occurs in <Glesca> (109), <taemorra> (66) and <fella> (177). The representation of *my* as <me> (3) provides a contrast to the spelling <ma>. The spelling <me> indicates the pronunciation [mɪ]. There is a possibility that both forms are used interchangeably.

Other instances of non-standard spellings include signs of consonant deletion, which in

⁷ This pronunciation has also been found in Edinburgh since the 18th century.

the spoken mode manifest themselves as elision in connected speech. Examples include the spellings <wi'> (*with*) (12d), <'tis> (*it is*) (14), and <an'> (*and*) (3,7). The realisation [an] or [ən] of *and* is in fact normal in all varieties of English in continuous speech. Technically, the apostrophe in <an'> is an indication of syllable-final consonant-loss, where the second of two voiced (or two voiceless) syllable-final consonants is omitted. However, the spelling <an'> can also be interpreted as a case of elision of a sound in a word in unstressed position in connected speech. While syllable-final consonant-loss is a General Scots feature, deletion of the final consonant in <an'> occurs all over the British Isles and beyond. The spelling <an'> can thus be interpreted either as a Scots form or as an attempt to reproduce a feature typical of the spoken mode.

The representation of the present participle inflectional suffix in <shairpnin'> (5), <tinglin'> (8), <stealin'> (11b), <lyin'> (12d) and <cryin'> (12d) with an apostrophe instead of the standard <-g> suggests the pronunciation [m] or [ɛn]. This pronunciation is due to a development in Scots and northern English, which was originally brought about through the weakening of the present participle suffix <and> to [an] and syllable-final consonant-loss in the verbal noun ending <-ing> from [ɪŋg] to [ɪŋ] and [ɪn]. The latter was reduced to [ən] in speech and merged with the present participle, which in speech was also weakened to [ən]. The result of this development, however, falls in with a general English development. The apostrophe in <moarnin'> (10b) suggests the realisation [ɛn] or [ɪn], which followed the same development as unstressed [ɪŋg] in the verbal noun.

The spelling <thim> (*them*) (7,10a) suggests the pronunciation [ðɛm] or [ðɪm]. However, since this pronoun occurs in unstressed sentence position, the vowel can also

be interpreted as unstressed [ə]. To change the standard spelling to <thim> is to suggest a non-standard pronunciation, where in fact in unstressed position the word is homophonic in Glaswegian and in Standard English⁸.

Finally, the passage depicts some idiosyncratic non-standard spellings. The first person singular pronoun is represented as <Ah> (2a,3,6a,10a,11c,12b,16b). This spelling suggests the Glaswegian emphatic pronunciation [a] or reduced [ʌ]. The retention of the capitalisation in the non-standard spelling can be interpreted as a sign of assimilation to standard spelling conventions. At the same time, it promotes the reading fluency for the standard-reading audience who are used to seeing the pronoun capitalised.

The non-standard spelling <minodge> (*menage*) (2a,11c) indicates the Glaswegian pronunciation [mɪnɒdʒ]. The non-standard spelling of this French loan is also suggestive of the level of education of the people who pronounce it [mɪnɒdʒ]. The spelling <Mespotamy> (12d) too is not only a misspelling, but an indication of the speaker's ignorance of what must be taken to mean Mesopotamia – even allowing the fact that borrowings always tend to be nativised.

Finally, the representation of *maybe* as <mibbe> (12d) has to be mentioned. The <i>-spelling and the double consonant <bb> suggest that the first vowel is short, i.e. [ɛ̃] or [ɪ]. The suggested non-standard pronunciation is [mɛ̃bi] or [mɪbi]⁹.

⁸ The Scots cognate of the Standard English pronoun *them* is *thaim*. However, the spelling <thim> (7,10a) is certainly not a misprint for <thaim>: there is ample evidence in the novel that <i> suggests [ɛ̃] or [ɪ], e.g. <whit> (94), <jist> (66), <tibacca> (*tobacco*) (118) or <minny> (*many*) (142).

⁹ Elsewhere in the novel, *maybe* is represented as <mebbe> (16) and also as <mabbe> (150).

8.2.2 LEXIS

The passage contains a number of General Scots lexical items, but only the expression "minodge" (2a,11c) seems to be regionally restricted. The word "minodge" forms part of the expression "to haud a minodge" (139), but it is also used on its own.

The General Scots word used most frequently in this passage is "wee" (9,11b,12a+c,16a+b). It has the literal meaning small or little but it also serves, almost formulaically, as a term of endearment, as for instance in "ma ain wee lassie" (12a) and "ma brave wee son" (12c). Its insertion can have a kind of mitigating effect, and "wee" is also frequently used before a personal name as in "wee Minnie Milligan" (16a). Furthermore, "wee" combines with certain nouns to form fixed expressions like "wee yins" (*children*) (11b). Another well-known example of the use of "wee" is "wee hauf" (173), which designates a pub measure of whisky.

Other General Scots lexical items in the passage are "lassie" (12a) and "ken" (16b). The first is also common in northern English. The verb "ken" (*know*) appears to be more common in East Central than in West Central Scots. The expression "chap" (*knock*) (15c,16b) is a General Scots lexical item. Its use in the passage provides one example of the sharp contrast between the language of the narrator and that of the characters, since the former employs the Standard English term, the latter the dialect word for the same thing. The fact that there is no mediation between narrative and dialogue in terms of glosses can here result in the potential failure on the part of the standard-reading audience to recognise "chap" as meaning knock. Finally, "aye" (*always*) (11b,15b) is

also General Scots¹⁰. The word "sleekit" (16b) means sly or cunning, and is used in this sense only in Scots. The last non-standard lexical item noteworthy in the passage is "that" (6b), which is used as an intensifier in Lowland English and general non-standard English.

8.2.3 GRAMMAR

8.2.3.1 Morphology

The non-standard morphological forms in the passage involve pronouns, demonstratives and verbs. With regard to the first, the Scots personal pronouns depicted in the passage are the unstressed form of the second person singular pronoun "ye" (2a+b,11c)¹¹ and the singular and plural numerical pronouns "yin" (*one*) (12d) and "yins" (11b) (*ones*). The pronoun "yer" (9) represents the Scots unstressed form of the second person possessive pronoun¹². The demonstrative "yon" (12d) serves as a deictic determiner indicating a person or thing far away from speaker and hearer. In (2a) the pronoun "they" is the distal plural demonstrative. The spelling <they> suggests the sound sequence [ðe:], which is homophonic with that of the Scots demonstrative <thae>. The chosen spelling <they> is the handy English form for spelling this sound sequence and

¹⁰ In contrast to "ay(e)" (*yes*), which is pronounced [æ], "aye" (*always*) is pronounced [aɪ].

¹¹ Historically, ye was the plural pronoun.

¹² This spelling suggests the pronunciation [jer]; this would be inaccurate for the emphatic form of the pronoun, which is pronounced [jɑr] in Glaswegian. However, as a representation of the reduced form, the spelling <yer> is acceptable to indicate the pronunciation [jər].

has been preferred despite the potential confusion with the third person plural pronoun *they* because the standard reading audience will infer the intended pronunciation from this spelling.

In terms of verbal morphology, two forms have already been mentioned: "sleekit" (16b) and "ta'en" (10b). The former takes the position and function of an adjective. Formally, it has the Scots past participle inflection of weak verbs, <-it>. The form "ta'en" presumably represents the General Scots past participle of the strong verb *tak(e)*.

8.2.3.2 Syntax

The passage displays several cases of non-standard syntactical features. There is one instance where the subject-verb concord-rule is not observed: in "Whaur's yer wee gloves" (9), the enclitic verb is in the singular while the subject "gloves" is the plural form. However, this non-standard usage is not regionally restricted.

A characteristic Scots feature of non-standard syntax is the use of the definite article with the adverbial of time in "the noo" (4b), where Standard English would have a zero-determiner. In the expression "the night" (12b), similarly, a deictic determiner is used with times of the day.

With regard to negation, the form "canny" (6a) has the enclitic negative particle <-ny>. This spelling suggests the common Central Scots pronunciation [nɪ]. In "isnae" (13a, 16a) the negative particle is also used enclitically. This spelling suggests the Central Scots pronunciation [ne:]. The retention of the full negative particle rather than its contraction (as in Standard English) is also common in Lowland English. In "he's no

deid" (13c) the negative particle serves as an isolate. Again, this is a case of the retention of the full negative particle. In "nae yin" (12d) "nae" is not the negative particle, as the form, indeed, suggests. It is the negative quantifier from Old English [nɑ:].

The expression "are aye stealin" (11b) is an example of the Glaswegian and Lowland English predilection of a progressive verb group with the habitual aspect marker "aye". This kind of usage emphasises the dynamic side of the predication. The characteristic Lowland English use of the verb *need*, which functions as a lexical verb, appears in the exclamation "We'll need tae hurry" (4a). In Lowland English, *need* is used to express necessity and obligation, whereas Standard English would use the modal auxiliary *must* in such a context.

8.2.4 DISCOURSE FEATURES

The passage shows no characteristic examples of Glaswegian discourse style, and only two or three discourse markers, namely "oh" (1,10a), "och" (3,6a) and "my" (11a). The opening marker "och" presumably signals a faint complaint and disappointment and the notion that the speaker, Mary, is looking for sympathy. The function of "oh" (1) can be inferred from the narrator's comment that Mary's exclamation is timid; it is an introductory marker characteristic of the spoken mode. In (10a), too, the narrator provides the additional information that Mary is speaking in a frightened voice. Again, this narratorial remark provides the hermeneutic clue to the function of the discourse marker.

8.2.5 CONCLUSION

While succeeding in most respects, the passage is limited or indeed fails in others. What it does achieve is a materially plausible, though slightly unambitious representation of dialect in its direct speech passages. There is no representation of forms untypical of Glaswegian. Both Scots and Lowland English forms, which are concurrent in spoken Glaswegian, are depicted, and in most cases the non-standard spelling is sufficiently suggestive of Glaswegian pronunciation without impairing the reading fluency. However, some realisational characteristics of the Glasgow accent are not represented. For instance, it is striking that no obvious attempt is made at representing a glottal stop, which is one of the most salient markers of Glaswegian.

The General Scots feature of syllable-final consonant-loss is not depicted where it could be and possibly should have been, namely in "cauld" (1) and "mind" (11c); in "wonder" (12b), the deletion of the second voiced consonant [d] is not represented. Elsewhere in the novel syllable-final consonant-loss does occur, though, e.g. in "staun" (116) or "roon" (148). Also, the realisation [ʌ] of the stressed vowel in <wonder> could have been suggested by a non-standard spelling like <wunner>.

The spelling <want> (2a) does not unambiguously indicate the Glaswegian pronunciation [wa:nt], which incidentally does not appear to be subject to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule. A non-standard spelling like <wahnt> or <waant> would have been more phonetically precise. On the other hand, the Glaswegian pronunciation [wa(:)n] is represented by the non-standard spelling <wan> (204). But if the sequence <wan> indicates the pronunciation [wa(:)n], the (standard) spelling <want> could be interpreted

as accommodating the non-standard pronunciation [wa:nt] as well as Lowland English [wɒnt]. It is likely, though, that the Lowland English pronunciation (or indeed RP) is automatically associated with the standard spelling.

Likewise, the spelling <warm> (7) fails to indicate the Glaswegian pronunciation [war(ə)m]; again, the front vowel [a] cannot simply be inferred by the reader, because the standard spelling by implication suggests what is perceived as the standard pronunciation, i.e. [wɔ:m]. Moreover, in Glaswegian words like *warm* are often pronounced with an epenthetic vowel between [r] and the syllabic consonant [m̩]. The intrusion of a helping vowel makes the word disyllabic so that it is pronounced [war(ə)m]¹³. Finally, with regard to spelling one might have expected the representation of "come here" (7) as <come 'ere> with an indication of consonant deletion in connected speech.

In grammatical terms, the use of the present participle with the lexical verb *need* to express necessity in "it needs shairpnin" (5) is Standard English usage. Glaswegian and Lowland English tend to use the past participle form with the modal auxiliary *need*. Also, it would have been more consistent to use the progressive form with the habitual aspect marker in "she aye comes first" (15b) as well as in (11b). However, we need to be in mind that dialect is, of course, not always consistent.

With regard to the representation of spoken conversation, the passage largely succeeds. The oral mode and colloquial register of the dialogue are suggested not only by the representation of dialect, but also by features involving elision, and by discourse

¹³ The spelling <warm> (21,145) presumably indicates the epenthetic vowel. This also applies to the spelling <wurrld> (*world*) (111). This non-standard spelling is primarily intended to show the realisation of the vowel [ʌ], but the epenthetic vowel [ə] is probably implicit.

markers. The relatively short sentences, as for instance in (1), (4a), (10a) or (16a), and the use of deictic determiners render the direct speech passages close to real conversation. The use of pauses or hesitations (for instance in (10a)) would be rather superfluous since the narrator's comment provides the information needed to interpret the situation. The representation of pauses here would be mimetic rather than strategic, and in this sense would attract undue attention from the reader. Accordingly, the absence of such markers contributes to the success of this passage.

8.3 *THE CHANGELING* (1958)

The following passage is taken from the middle of chapter 20 of the novel *The Changeling* (1958) by Robin Jenkins. Mr Forbes, a teacher, is on holiday in a resort on the Clyde with his wife Mary, his son and daughter, his mother-in-law and Tom Curdie, one of his pupils. Tom comes from a very deprived and miserable slum area of Glasgow and, at thirteen, already has a record of petty crimes. Mr Forbes considers him one of the brightest pupils of the school and has decided to take him away from his slum environment for a couple of weeks to offer him the chance of renewal and of a change of his life. At the same time, however, his motives are not of an entirely altruistic nature. Chapter 20 of the novel sees the Forbes family and Tom return to their holiday resort from an unpleasant day trip. On their way to their cottage, Mr Forbes is told by the locals that they have visitors at the cottage and that these visitors seem to have made themselves comfortable in the front garden. On arrival, the Forbes's find that the visitors, who are clad in dirty, ragged clothes and smell of insanitariness, are Tom's own relatives. Tom indicates more by his facial expression than through words that he knows the intruders. They are his mother with her partner, his brother and his half-sister. Before the Forbes's get a chance to recover from their astonishment, Tom's mother, who is reeking of alcohol, barges in:

(1)'I can see ye're a' surprised to see us,' she cried happily. (2)'We're no' ones for writing aheid to warn folk. (3)'I hope ye'll pardon us the liberty o' making oorsel's at hame.' She laughed so much she slavered, and wiped it off on her sleeve. (4)'We're no' exactly strangers, ye ken. (5a)'I kent it was you, Mr Forbes, as soon as ye stepped oot the caur, (5b)'for I once had ye pointed oot to me in the street near the school. (6a)'I'll no' say whit name was attached to ye then, (6b)'for we a' ken whit like weans are wi' teachers' names.' After a shriek of mirth, she turned to Mary. (7a)'If ye'll no' think me awfu' cheeky for saying it, Mrs Forbes, (7b)'ye're looking the picture o' health. (8)'Aye, and your weans too. (9a)'I was just saying that to Shoogle here - (9b)'Mr Kemp, I should say: he's Tom's uncle, ye ken. (10)'Aye.' She laughed in happy derision at her own lie. (11)'But I'm no' being mannerly. (12)'I should be introducing ye properly to my ain family. (13a)'This is Alec - ye're no' to be feart o' the scabs, (13b)'the doctor assured us they're no smittal. (14)'And this is Molly, oor wee pet. (15)'I hope ye don't mind us picking a wee bunch o' your braw flowers for her? (16)'Christ's truth, it was either that or haeing her demolish the whole gairden. (17)'And o'coorse there's nae need for me to introduce my clever boy Tom. (18)'I hope he's been behaving himself. (19)'Hae you, Tommy?' But she took care not to let her doting leer dwell on him too long.

The little man, even at rest precariously and painfully balanced, tried not to look undignified, and succeeded only in looking sly, mean and querulous. He too stank of alcohol.

(20a)'It was sich a fine day,' he whined, (20b)'we thought we'd pay Tom a visit.'

(21)'That's right,' yelped Mrs Curdie. (22a)'Being a mither yoursel', Mrs Forbes, (22b)'ye'll understaun' that I've been anxious aboot my boy, (22c)'my son and heir, as you might say. (23a)'Oh hell, I kent you would be looking after him weel, (23b)'but a mither's never at rest in her he'rt till she's seen for hersel'.'

(Jenkins 1989:166-167)

In this passage, the language of the narrative is Standard English, while that of Tom's mother and his stepfather is Glaswegian. However, the contrast between the language of the narrative and that of the dialogues is not as clear-cut as it might appear from this particular passage alone. Tom himself, his friends and the locals in the holiday resort on the Clyde also speak dialect, while Mr Forbes and his family as well as the other teachers are portrayed as speaking Standard English, perhaps interspersed with an occasional dialect word like "wee" (36) or "sleekit" (35) or an idiom like "shower of auld wives" (35). Thus, code-switching does not strictly take place simply between narrative and dialogues, but between the narrative, the speech of the Forbes family and other teachers on the one hand and all the other characters on the other. The second group comprises, of course, people of lower social standing who do not have the same power and authority as the first group. This sociolinguistic set-up is plausible because it reflects the reality of code-switching between members of the lower class and members of the middle class. The contrast between the Standard English of the narrator and the dialect of the socially underprivileged characters is a familiar feature of Scots dialect literature.

From the point of view of Mrs Forbes, the language variety Mrs Curdie employs in the passage could hardly be less appropriate to the speech situation. Not only have the Curdies invaded the Forbes's private space but, as it turns out, they are looking to spend the night there as well; some accommodation in the direction of the language variety of the prospective hosts, which would reflect their social superiority, might have been expected. While there appears to be some kind of accommodation to a more formal register in the sense that Mrs Curdie employs phrases like "my son and heir" (22c) or in that she pays Mary what she obviously thinks is a compliment about her healthy looks,

there is no effort to appropriate a more middle class accent. Of course, given Mrs Curdie's own background the reader has to assume that even if she wanted to, she would be unlikely to adopt successfully a non-localised form of speech, simply because she is not familiar with it. Furthermore, as has been indicated, Mrs Curdie is quite drunk; in such a state, everybody tends to fall back upon his or her native language variety. And finally, it is not in Mrs Curdie's character to compromise. On the whole, this extract is one of the longest sustained passages of rather detailed dialect in the whole novel.

8.3.1 PHONOLOGY

The non-standard spellings employed in the passage suggest mainly General Scots features of pronunciation which are shared by Glaswegian, but also a few shibboleths of Glaswegian pronunciation. With one exception there is no real effort to re-spell unstressed vowels, and idiosyncratic spellings are virtually absent.

L-vocalisation is indicated by the spellings <a> (*all*) (1,6b) and <awfu> (7a). In both cases, the phonetic context for the vocalisation of [l] is that it was preceded by a short vowel and followed by a morpheme-boundary. The spelling <a> suggests the pronunciation [ɔ:]. Historically, early Middle Scots [al] was velarised to [aɫ] and then vocalised and diphthongised to Middle Scots [au] before being monophthongised again in Modern Scots. In Central and Southern Scots this resulted in [ɔ:], in Northern Scots [ɑ:]. The spelling <awfu> suggests the pronunciation [ɔfu] of the unstressed short variant.

V-deletion is indicated by the spellings <haeing> (16) and <hae> (19). The absence of an apostrophe in the spellings <hae> and <haeing> implies that these spellings are not so much a deviation from the standard spelling as valid non-standard forms.

Syllable-final consonant-loss is suggested by two spellings: by <understaun'> (22b), where the second of the two voiced consonants [n] and [d] is deleted, and by <oorseel's> (3), where the second of the two voiced consonants [l] and [v] is deleted. The spellings <yourseel'> (22a) and <hersel'> (23b) do not exactly match the pattern of the General Scots phenomenon of syllable-final consonant-loss¹.

Another characteristic Scots pronunciation is indicated by the non-standard spelling <weel> (well) (23a); the vowel spelling suggests the pronunciation [i], which is a reflex of Early Scots [e:]. Historically, [e:] was raised to Middle Scots [i:] in the course of the Great Vowel Shift, and appears as Modern Scots [i] when affected by the Scottish Vowel Length Rule. Also, the standard double consonant spelling in <well> has been changed to a single consonant <l>, presumably because the graphic sequence <VVCC> would look outlandish. The spelling <ei> of the vowel in <aheid> (2) too suggests the pronunciation [i], and it is also a reflex of Early Scots [e:]. However, the digraph <ei> in <aheid> does not represent an inconsistent spelling, but a suitable alternative to the <ee>-spelling adapted in <weel>. Moreover, the digraph <ei> represents a Scots spelling convention (Murison 1977:27).

The digraph <oo> is suggestive of the Glaswegian pronunciation [u] in <oot> (5a+b) and <aboot> (22b), and of [u:] in <oorseel's> (3), <oor> (14), and <o'coorse> (17). As in other cases, the use of the Older Scots digraph <ou> to indicate the monophthongal

¹ Cf. p.320 below.

realisation [u] would have given a wrong signal to the standard-reading audience, who would probably assume the Standard English pronunciation of what looks like the standard spelling.

The digraph <au> suggests the characteristic Central Scots pronunciation [ɔ:] before [r] in <caur> (5a), and [ɔ] before [n] <understaun> (22b).

Three different non-standard spellings are employed to indicate the pronunciation [e:], which is the Modern Scots reflex of the Early Scots non-rounded [a:]. These are the sequence <aCe> in <hame> (3) and the digraphs <ai> in <ain> (12) and <ae> in <nae> (17). As mentioned earlier, this pronunciation is a result of the fact that in Northern England and Scotland, Old English [ɑ:] was fronted, so that Early Scots [a:] was raised as a front vowel in the course of the Great Vowel Shift.

The last case of a non-standard spelling indicating a Scots pronunciation is the spelling <i> of the stressed vowel in <mither> (22a) and <sich> (20a). This spelling suggests the pronunciation [ɪ], which is the result of northern fronting of original Old English [o:]. Furthermore, the <ch>-spelling in <sich> might wrongly appear to suggest the Scots voiceless fricative allophone [χ], but in fact it indicates the pronunciation [sɪʃ] with a word-final affricate instead of a voiceless fricative².

A typical Glaswegian feature of pronunciation is the pre-rhotic lengthening of original [a] and Great Vowel Shift raising to merge with Middle English [e:]. This feature is suggested by the digraph <ai> in <gairden> (16). The non-standard spelling <he'rt> (heart) (23b) also signals the Glaswegian realisation [ɛ:] of the vowel. Historically, this form preserves the original Middle English [hert], which was lowered to [ar] in Middle

² There are also Middle English <sich> forms derived from Old English <swylc>.

English in the 15th century. However, the Glaswegian pronunciation fluctuates between [ɛ:] and [e:]. In both *garden* and *heart*, Lowland English has [a:]. The spelling <gairden> is sufficiently close for the standard-reading audience to recognise the lexeme at once, and the digraph <ai> has analogies in the spellings <mair> (23) and <aipples> (19), where it also suggests the pronunciation [ɛ(:)] or the apostrophe in <he'rt> (23b), which occurs elsewhere (60) as well, suggests a vowel change. However, this vowel change would also have been evident without the use of an apostrophe, as is the case with the spelling <hert> (32). Furthermore, the apostrophe signals a deviation from the standard rather than an indigenous form, and thus has to be seen as an assimilation to the anglicised version.

Consonant deletions indicated by an apostrophe occur in <o'> (3, 7b, 13a, 15, 17), <wi'> (6b), <yoursel'> (22a) and <hersel'> (23b). While these are all dialectal forms, one might maintain that the last two cases are examples of syllable-final consonant-loss and not of simple phonemic omission. However, I would argue that this Scots feature is only represented in cases where either the second of two voiced consonants, or the second of two unvoiced consonants is omitted. In the case of <yoursel'> and <hersel'>, though, a voiceless consonant is deleted after a voiced one. In the spelling <no'> (2, 4, 6a, 7a, 11, 13a)³, consonant deletion is also indicated by an apostrophe. In both Glaswegian and Lowland English, the realisation of <no'> is [no:].

Finally, the spelling <i> of the vowel in <whit> (6a+b) suggests the Glaswegian pronunciation [ɛ̃] or [ɪ]. In unstressed position, the pronunciation [wət] is also possible in

³ In "they're no smittal" (13b) there is no apostrophe to indicate phonemic omission, but I suggest that this is a misprint rather than a deliberately inconsistent non-standard spelling.

both non-standard and Standard English; in this sense, the non-standard spelling would be an example of eye-dialect.

8.3.2 LEXIS

The passage is characterised by the use of General Scots rather than typical Glaswegian lexical items. In fact, the only regionally restricted Scots term employed is "weans" (6b,8). A contracted form of *wee* and *anes* or *yins* (*little ones*), the word "weans" is only common in West Central Scots. Other Scots varieties prefer the word *bairn*. Expressions in the passage pertaining to General Scots include "folk" (2), "aye" (*yes*) (8,10), "braw" (15) and "ken" (4,5a,6b,23a) in both the present tense "ken" and the past tense "kent"⁴. The adjective "wee" serves as a term of endearment in (14), whereas in (15) it can be regarded as a diminutive. The expression "feart o" (*afraid of*) (13a) can take the prepositions *of*, *at* and *for*. It has been common in Scots since the 14th century. Finally, the expression "what like" (6b) is not in essence a case of a change of word order with regard to Standard English, where *like* would come after the auxiliary; rather, it can be characterised as a Lowland English idiom. A fixed expression, "what like" according to the *CSD* has the meaning how or resembling what in appearance or nature.

⁴ Cf. section 8.3.3.1 below.

8.3.3 GRAMMAR

8.3.3.1 Morphology

The non-standard morphological forms represented in the passage are varied and involve features Glaswegian shares with both Scots and Lowland English.

With regard to verbal morphology, the use of the Scots simple past form "kent" (5a,23a) is noteworthy. In Scots "ken" is a weak verb, whereas its Standard English cognate *know* belongs to the strong conjugation class. "Kent" also has the Scots inflectional ending <-(i)t> of weak verbs.

In the clause "if ye'll no' think me awfu' cheeky" (7a), "awfu' cheeky" represents an example of the general non-standard feature of an adverb formed from an adjective with zero suffix pre-modifying an adjective.

In terms of pronouns, only the General Scots second person pronoun "ye" (1,3,4,5a+b,6a,7a+b,9b,12,13a,15,22b), which descends regularly from the original nominative, is noteworthy.

8.3.3.2 Syntax

In syntactical terms, the passage offers several non-standard forms. The use of "out" in the expression "stepped out the caur" (5a), where Standard English would have *out of the car*, is noteworthy. Here, "out" is not simply a preposition in a prepositional phrase; the preposition has a relationship to the verb "stepped" as well. The prepositional phrase is more deeply structured with the verb and expletive complement in that it is used adverbially, not circumstantially.

The function of the enclitic future marker <'ll> in the expression "if ye'll no' think me awfu' cheeky..." (7a) is possibly non-standard; Standard English tends to use the present tense in realistic conditional clauses.

In Lowland English, the modal auxiliary "should" is used intrinsically and preferred to *ought to* to express moral obligation, as in (9b,12). Also, there is a predilection in Lowland English for the use of the modal auxiliary "might" (22c) instead of *may* to express possibility. In order to convey a lack of obligation, Standard English tends to use the modal auxiliary *need not*; in Lowland English, *need* is not usually employed as a modal but as a lexical verb. It frequently appears in an existential clause in nominalised form, as in "there's nae need for me to ..." (17).

The passage contains five instances where the free negative particle is retained, while the preceding auxiliary is contracted: "we're no ones for ..." (2), "I'll no' say ..." (6a), "ye'll no' think ..." (7a), "I'm no' being mannerly" (11) and "ye're no' to be feart ..." (13). Whereas this is characteristic of Lowland English, Standard English tends to use the negative particle enclitically in these cases.

Finally, a predilection for progressive verb groups to indicate the temporary, or rather non-generic, aspect of a predication is noteworthy. It occurs in "ye're looking the picture o' health" (7b) and in "I was just saying that to Shoogles here" (9a). In the first case, Standard English prefers a simple tense with the verb *look* to stress the generic or static aspect of the predication. In the second case, the adverb "just" tends to be a perfect tense or present progressive marker in Standard English, whereas in Lowland English it is frequently used with a past progressive tense. I would argue that this predilection for the temporary or progressive aspect in particular with verbs expressing mental processes is

laid down culturally. It signals the tentativeness of the associated proposition. In this sense, this use is not a grammatical oddity but rather a case of Scottish idiomaticness.

8.3.4 DISCOURSE FEATURES

8.3.4.1 Discourse Style

The passage contains only one case of what might be considered typical Glaswegian discourse style. This is when Mrs Curdie makes excuses for having picked flowers from the garden and tries to tell Mrs Forbes that this was the lesser of two evils, the other one being that Molly would have "demolish[ed] the whole gairden" (16). This exaggeration appears rather gross because Molly is only three years old - but some would probably argue that it is especially observant.

The only instance of irony – maybe unwittingly implied – in the passage is the expression "my son and heir" (22c). It must be ironically loaded, and indeed perhaps this very phrase is well observed, since it used to be a mockable pretentious expression once. However, besides all the implications this expression has in terms of the whole novel – namely that Tom does not have any other choice but to accept his "heirloom" of slum life or perish – there is nothing particularly Glaswegian about this expression. Also, it is appropriated by Mrs Curdie to impress Mrs Forbes, but it does not represent a feature characteristic of her usual discourse style.

The exclamation "Christ's truth" (16), which in Glaswegian is often shortened to "struth", is a characteristic way of signalling the speech act of protesting or affirming the

ensuing predication, and it is also an exclamation of surprise or disbelief functioning as a comment about another speaker's remark or story. Here, "Christ's truth" syntactically functions as a disjunct, that is, it is the speaker's commentary about the facts she is reporting in the following sentence. Semantically it implies that the following statement, however unbelievable, is a fact. The fictional usage of "Christ's truth" is revelatory in that it can demonstrate the different functions of such dialectal expressions in fiction.

8.3.4.2 Discourse Markers

The only discourse marker represented in the passage is "ye ken". In the first case (4) Mrs Curdie tries to establish a kind of false intimacy with Mr Forbes through the use of "ye ken". As she is about to reveal, somebody had pointed Mr Forbes out to her some time ago, so that she now knows who he is; however, they are, of course, strangers. Moreover, the discourse marker "ye ken" is not only not a filler but indeed a dialectal form. One could argue that, while it is in line with the rest of Mrs Curdie's direct speech contribution in dialect, it might also be indicative of her wish to get Mr Forbes on her side. In (9b) "ye ken" follows a lie and implies that Mrs Curdie is trying to coax Mrs Forbes into believing her predication. Again, it suggests a non-existent intimacy which Mrs Curdie is trying to establish by telling the Forbes's something she thinks complies with their social perspective, even though the predication is in fact a lie. Presumably Mrs Curdie senses that a co-habitant would not be acceptable to the Forbes's. She therefore makes a false statement about Shoogle's family status and invites the Forbes to believe it by using the discourse marker.

8.3.5 CONCLUSION

The passage succeeds in many respects, but again fails in others. The kind of mock-formal register Mrs Curdie adopts to impress the Forbes's is well represented. The oral mode of the passage is suggested by incomplete sentences such as (8) and self-interruptions like (9b,13a), and, of course, by the comparatively consistent use of dialect.

The language variety depicted is in large parts a plausible representation of a not too dense form of dialect. Both General Scots, Lowland English and typical Glaswegian features of phonology, lexis and grammar are represented to varying degrees, and there are no forms essentially unlikely to occur in Glaswegian. The representation of non-standard features is largely consistent and does not appear to be arbitrary. Only in a few cases could the reader have expected a non-standard instead of a standard form. For instance, syllable-final consonant-loss could have been represented in <mind> (15), as it is in <understaun'> (22b), and the Scots monophthongal realisation of the stressed vowel in <flowers> could have been indicated by a non-standard spelling like <floowers>.

However, the passage does not entirely succeed as a representation of the Glasgow dialect. The non-standard forms depicted pertain largely to General Scots and, with regard to grammar, to Lowland English, rather than to a localised or even regionally restricted variety. A number of Glaswegian phonetic features – and this is typical of the whole text – are not represented at all. These include the glottal stop, the weakened present participle and verbal noun ending realised as [ɛn] or [m], the pronunciation [e(:)] of the vowel in <to> as well as of the first vowel in <after> (23a), and possibly the

pronunciation [a] (or reduced [ʌ]) of the first person singular pronoun. Furthermore, the name <Tom> could have been used by the dialect speaking characters in its Glaswegian form <Tam>. Finally, there is no indication of the Glaswegian pronunciation [ʌ] of the final unstressed vowel in <my> (12,17)⁵.

With regard to grammar, the second person possessive pronoun "your" (8,15) could have been represented as *yir* or *yur* because in both instances it appears in unstressed position.

In conclusion I would argue that the representation of General Scots rather than Glaswegian phonological features and lexical items plays an important part in the passage's failure to accurately represent the Glaswegian dialect. Bearing in mind that the passage is for the most part a direct speech contribution by the poorest (and a slum dwelling) character in the novel, one should have expected more, and more characteristically Glaswegian, dialect features. At the same time, in comparison with the rest of the novel the passage is remarkable for the density of dialect representation. However, the reader gets the impression that Scots rather than Glaswegian features are represented in order to provide a contrast to the Standard English parts of the novel. While this is achieved quite consistently, the representation of shibboleths of Glaswegian is not as fully exploited as the reader could have expected.

⁵ In the formal expression <my son and heir> the standard spelling of the pronoun is appropriate because this formal and indeed formulaic expression virtually demands a standard pronunciation.

8.4 MR ALFRED MA (1972)

The following passage is taken from the first half of chapter 28 of the novel *Mr Alfred MA* (1972) by George Friel. The beginning of the chapter sees the teacher Mr Alfred, known among his pupils as big Alf, on a pub crawl after work. It is pay day. When the last pub has shut, Mr Alfred fancies a bite to eat. He passes by a new cafeteria and enters, staggering slightly. The place is full of young people, among them two of Mr Alfred's former pupils, Gerald and Smudge.

Immediately preceding the passage is a scene in which Mr Alfred, on entering the cafeteria, is pointed to an empty seat by a polite young man who realises Mr Alfred's clumsiness. When Mr Alfred is making his way there, he is noticed by Gerald and Smudge, who are sitting at a table in a dark corner with two female companions. Mr Alfred does not notice them. In the passage, another former pupil of Mr Alfred's is mentioned: Rose Weiper, the best friend of Gerald's sister; Mr Alfred was very fond of Rose. Now the following conversation develops between Gerald, Smudge and the two girls:

- (1)'That's big Alfy,' said Gerald Provan.
 (2)'Christ, so it is,' said Smudge.
 (3)'Who's big Alfy?' said Dianne McElhimmeny.
 (4)'He looks squiffed,' said Yvonne McGudgeon.
 (5a)'Well away,' said Dianne. (5b)'Who is he?'
 (6)'Yous know him?' said Yvonne.
 Gerald told them big Alfy used to be his teacher.
 (7a)'See! See teachers?' said Yvonne. (7b)'Can't stand them so I can't.'
 (8)'I hated school so I did,' said Dianne.
 (9)'Imagine him coming to a place like this,' said Smudge.
 (10a)'A man his age,' said Gerald. 'With what he gets paid.'
 (11)'He looks a right tramp,' said Yvonne.
 (12a)'Is he one of yon?' said Dianne. (12b)'You know what I mean.'
 (13)'A query?' said Yvonne.
 (14)'Nut hom,' said Gerald.
 He told them about Rose Weipers.
 (15)'Dirty old man,' said Dianne.
 (16a)'Bad wee bitch that one was,' said Yvonne. (16b) 'Letting a drip like that feel
 her for a couple of bob.'
 (17)'I bet you he's loaded,' said Smudge.
 (18a)'Of course he's loaded,' said Dianne. (18b) 'You can see it in his eyes.'
 (19)'Not drink, money,' said Smudge.
 (20a)'Christ you're right, pal,' said Gerald. (20b)'The enda the month the day.
 (20c)'The big bugger'll have his pay in his pocket. (20d)'How about rolling him?'
 (21a)'That's what I mean,' said Smudge. (21b)'You on, chookies?'
 (22)'Wadyathink, Dianne?' said Yvonne.
 (23)'Fits okay with you sokay with me,' said Dianne.

(Friel 1987:149-150)

This passage is characterised by the virtual absence of non-standard spellings representing Glaswegian pronunciation, and at the same time by a proliferation of jargon and slang expressions, non-standard grammatical features and numerous cases of ellipsis typical of casual conversation. While most of the non-standard spellings suggest assimilations which can occur in any informal conversation in connected speech, and while the non-standard lexical items depicted belong to a certain functional variety or register rather than the Glasgow regional dialect, the non-standard grammatical forms employed are very much typical of Glaswegian.

In terms of lexis, the slang expressions are appropriate to the occasion and the participants; there is no reason why overt dialect vocabulary should prevail, and indeed none of the standard lexical items seem to be out of place. The fact that the non-standard grammatical forms are very much regionally restricted places the conversation firmly in Glasgow. The use of grammar in the passage is also an indirect confirmation of the assertion that dialect grammar is less obvious than dialect vocabulary and therefore less under the conscious control of the speakers. All four teenagers are represented as speaking a youth jargon.

The narrator hardly appears in this passage, and where he does, his medium of expression is Standard English. This is also true for the rest of the novel. However, even the narrative beyond this extract is characterised by the rather frequent use of non-standard grammatical forms typical of Lowland English in general. They involve relative pronoun deletion in existential clauses, as in "it was the girls lit the gas" (111) or the use of habitual aspect markers with the progressive tense as in "she was always worrying about his future" (72). Also, the narrative contains a number of Scots and Glaswegian dialect expressions such as "howff" (140), "patter" (112),

"back-scellery" (85) or "blethering" (55). Other teachers apart from Mr Alfred are portrayed as speaking at least a variety of English which contains some Glaswegian dialect features. The contrast between narrative and direct speech passages is not as marked as in the other novels discussed, although it is still very much perceivable, in particular where non-standard spellings are employed in dialogues to suggest Glaswegian features of pronunciation, as is often the case. In fact, most shibboleths of Glaswegian pronunciation are indicated by a re-spelling at some place or other in the novel.

The speech situation in which the conversation takes place demands the use of a colloquial if not slang register: four youngsters who have left school at the earliest possible opportunity meet in a crowded cafeteria late at night and plot a hold-up.

8.4.1 PHONOLOGY

The only two non-standard spellings suggesting Glaswegian pronunciation are <nut> (14) and <enda> (20b). In the first case, the grapheme <u> indicates the pronunciation [ʌ] of the vowel. This is a typical Glaswegian form of *not*. The spelling <enda> (*end of*) indicates both consonant deletion and the pronunciation [ʌ] of the reduced form of *of*. The coalescence of the two lexical items suggests that they are assimilated in connected speech.

The passage contains three more cases of coalescence, all of which can also be regarded as eye-dialect spellings. The first one is <Wadyathink> (*what do you think*) (22). The four words of which the question consists are run together in writing to

suggest that they are pronounced in one blast. Also, the grapheme <h> is omitted in the non-standard spelling of *what* because it represents a silent letter¹, and the final voiceless stop [t] in *what* and the first voiced dental stop [d] in *do* are assimilated in the spelling to <d>. The grapheme <a> in <ya> suggests the pronunciation [a] of the unstressed vowel in connected speech. In the spelling <Fits> (*if it's*) (23), the first vowel is deleted because it is not pronounced in unstressed sentence-initial position; there is no apostrophe to indicate either this vowel elision or that of *is*. The non-standard spelling adopted is now homographic with the third person singular form of the verb *fit*, as well as with the plural of the noun *fit*, and only by a closer scrutiny of the text can the reader interpret this non-standard spelling adequately. The arrest caused by this homography contributes to the theme of the breakdown of communication which pervades the novel.

In the spelling <sokay> (23) the enclitic form of the auxiliary is attached to the following adjective, and the personal pronoun *it* is deleted altogether because in connected speech it would not be pronounced; the sentence stress is on the second syllable in *okay*. The fact that even the form <sokay> conforms to standard spelling rules (although not to a particular lexeme) adds to the arresting effect: there is nothing in the spelling itself to suggest that this is a correlated form or that elision has taken place at all. Rather than a contribution to a representation of dialect features, the non-standard spellings are likely to cause confusion, but this is of course part of the novel's message.

¹ In Glaswegian, as in most Central Scots dialects, the Scots phoneme /w/ is obsolescent if not obsolete in the speech of younger people.

8.4.2 LEXIS

The only General Scots word used in the passage is "wee" (16a), which in this context has a slightly mitigating effect on the meaning of the following derogatory noun "bitch". The word "bob" (16b) originally meant a shilling. Today used for instance in the expression "a couple of bob" (despite the introduction of the decimal currency), "bob" is particularly common in Glaswegian where it is incorporated in all sorts of sayings like "it's alright laughing and joking if you've got a few bob". In this sense, it can be considered as typical Glaswegian.

In two cases, a standard lexical item is used in a non-standard meaning: in "he gets paid" (10a) "gets" is used instead of the auxiliary *is* to express the passive voice. In the expression "Of course he's loaded" (18a) "loaded" has the slang meaning to be under the influence of drink rather than rich, as it does in (17).

The slang expressions used in the passage include "squiffed" (4), "drip" (16b) for a stupid, dull or feeble person or a fool, "bugger" (20c), which here means a fellow or chap rather than a term of abuse, "rolling" (20d) for robbing someone who is drunk, and "chookies", which is derived from an Australian slang term² *chookie*, i.e. chicken; it means a girlfriend or young woman. The term "query" (13) might be a misspelling of the slang expression *queery*, but the non-standard spelling <query> does capture the sound and the speech rhythm. The term usually has the meaning of homosexual but in Glasgow it is used merely for an odd or eccentric person (Munro 1985:57). The *CSD* also gives "queery" as "an oddity, a queer thing or

² Cf. Beale (ed.) (⁸1984:302).

person". From the context it is quite clear though that Yvonne implies the slang meaning homosexual.

Finally, the expression "Nut hom" (14) merits brief discussion. The term "nut" is used in Glasgow for *not*³, as well as for *no* in one-word answers (Munro 1985:49). It appears here in connection with the rather cryptic item "hom". This could be a back-clipping of the word homosexual, in which case the expression "nut hom" could have the meaning he is not a homosexual. The spelling <hom> could also be a misprint for *him* – but the first edition also has the spelling <hom>. However, even assuming *him* is the correct reading, the preceding negative particle would presumably be *no* rather than *nut*. There is also a possibility that <nut him> is an elided version of something like "he is a nut, him".

8.4.3 GRAMMAR

8.4.3.1 Morphology

Non-standard morphological forms used in the passage involve demonstratives, pronouns, and verbs. With regard to demonstratives, "yon" (12a) is the General Scots distal plural demonstrative. The pronoun "yous" (6) is the emphatic form of the second person plural pronoun which seems to have originated in Ulster Scots, but is now very common in Glaswegian, though not in any other dialects apart from West Central Scots. In terms of verb morphology, only the enclitic auxiliary in "bugger'll"

³ Cf. e.g. "Ah'm nut goan" or "Ah'm nut interested" (Gaitens 1990:120,121).

(20c) is noteworthy. When the subject of the auxiliary is a noun rather than a pronoun, the auxiliary appears as a clitic in connected speech in Lowland English.

8.4.3.2 Syntax

The non-standard syntactical forms depicted so successfully in the passage are very varied. They involve tags, small clauses, verbal noun complementation, the use of determiners, cases of elision and ellipsis, the use of *see* + noun phrase as a topicaliser, various emphatic forms, and some lexical deletions.

Sentence-final tags, which consist of *so* + personal pronoun and the verb, are added to a positive statement to reinforce it. In the passage the tag "so I did" (8) takes exactly this form. The tag "so I can't" (7b) has the form *so* + personal pronoun + operator with enclitic negative particle. This kind of negative tag is added to a negative predication to reinforce it. Instead of *so*, *neither* can be used as well.

"Imagine him coming ..." (9) is a small clause which has "him" as its object and in which "him" also functions in some subject-like relationship with the verbal noun "coming". The imperative is followed by a pronoun and a verbal noun complement, where Standard English would have the pronoun (possibly preceded by the complementiser *that*) and a finite verb, e.g. as "Imagine (that) he came...".

Scots as well as Lowland English uses a determiner with certain periods of time, where Standard English tends to have *to-*; the expression "the day" (20b) is an example of this usage.

The contracted forms "Fits" (23) and "sokay" (23) suggest in the first case vowel elision, in the second the ellipsis of a pronoun. Other cases of ellipsis in the passage involve auxiliary ellipsis in "Yous know him?" (6) and in "You on, chookies?" (21b).

There are cases of pronoun and verb ellipsis in "Well away" (5a), "Bad wee bitch ..." (16a), "Not drink, money" (19) and "The enda the month the day" (20b), and one case of subject ellision in "Can't stand them ..." (7b).

In "See teachers?" (7a) *see* + noun phrase is used as a topicaliser. Other emphatic forms include "Christ, so it is" (2), "He looks a right tramp" (11) or "Bad wee bitch that one was" (16a). These emphatic forms bring out their resumptive character, which is part of their being, in a sense, tags.

Finally, in "a man his age" (10a) the genitive case of the second noun phrase is not marked by *of*, and in "he looks a right tramp" (11) *like* has been deleted. Again, this usage is common in Glaswegian.

8.4.4 DISCOURSE FEATURES

The address forms "pal" (20a) and "chookies" (21b) are the only discourse features used in the passage. "Pal" is a typical Glaswegian address for a male, whether he is known to the speaker, as in this case, or not. "Chookies" is rather unusual in Glaswegian and seems to be common now in Australian and New Zealand English slang. However, apparently it came into these focal areas from Irish dialects.

8.4.5 CONCLUSION

The passage succeeds despite the striking lack of ambition in representing

Glaswegian features of pronunciation. It could of course be criticised for the absence of non-standard spellings, but pronunciation is not all-important. The passage also succeeds because of the appropriate use of slang expressions and the lack of traditional Scots vocabulary, which would seem out of place in the speech situation depicted and in terms of the conversation partners, youngsters in their late teens in the middle of a run-down working class area of Glasgow. This passage has a particular quality in representing non-standard grammatical features in the short exchanges taking place between the youngsters. These direct speech contributions capture a large number of different grammatical forms characteristic of Glaswegian patter. The elliptic, short sentences, the frequent turn-taking and the instances of coalescence add to the impression that the conversation appears to be closely modelled on real conversation. Moreover, the dialogue not only consists of straight questions and answers which would further the plot, but is made up of contributions by different speakers which do not always complement each other. For instance, Dianne's question "Who's big Alf?" (3) is not answered immediately. Instead, Yvonne's ensuing comment that "He looks squiffed" (4) is first complemented by Dianne's own observation that he is "Well away" (5a) and then she has to repeat her still unanswered question about big Alf's identity (5b). Again she does not get an answer, and this time Yvonne asks the boys if they know him (6). Their questions are finally answered indirectly by the narrator. This kind of representation of turn-taking and indeed of the taking-shape of a conversation is done extremely successfully. Finally, a number of discourse features contribute to the literary quality of the extract.

8.5 *ITS COLOURS THEY ARE FINE* (1977)

The following passage appears around the middle of the second chapter of part two of the story sequence *Its Colours They Are Fine* (1977) by Alan Spence. Although loosely linked, the chapters in this book can be regarded as self-contained stories.

In this chapter, which is entitled 'Brilliant', Shuggie, a teenage factory worker, meets his work mate and friend Eddie after dinner for a night out. As usual, they meet at the street corner in front of a dairy shop. On this occasion, the first people to pass by are two girls who are apparently known to Shuggie and Eddie. Eddie shouts across the street to them to see if they want to go to the dance hall, but the girls are not interested. While Shuggie and Eddie are still undecided about where to go or what to do, Aleck approaches the street corner. He and Shuggie used to be good friends when they were at primary school, but they have since gone their different ways. Aleck is at high school and Shuggie, who left school at fifteen, has become a labourer. Now Aleck is on his way home, carrying his schoolbag and a black case containing his flute. He greets Shuggie casually and the latter starts a conversation. He is trying to tease Aleck, presumably because Aleck has chosen further education instead of getting a job like Shuggie and Eddie. Aleck does indeed feel a bit uneasy in the presence of Shuggie and Eddie, and deliberately uses the word "band practice" (99) instead of "orchestra", as the narrator informs the reader. Shuggie continues his questions.

- (1)'Izzat yer flute?' said Shuggie.
 (2)'Aye,' said Aleck.
 (3)'Kin ye give us The Sash yet?' said Shuggie.
 (4a)'Oh aye,' said Aleck, (4b)'Follow Follow as well.' He laughed, self-conscious.
 (5a)'Ah seen ye up the dancin the other week,' said Shuggie. (5b)'D'ye go up therr a loat?'
 (6a)'Ach naw,' said Aleck. (6b)'That wis ma furst time.'
 (7)'Wis that boays fae yur school that wur wae ye?'
 (8)'Aye,' said Aleck.
 (9)'Ye gawn up the night?' said Shuggie.
 (10)'Naw,' said Aleck.
 (11)'Huv tae stey in an dae yer homework?' said Shuggie. Eddie sniggered. For answer Aleck laughed again, the same embarrassed laugh, as he moved on.
 (12)'See ye,' he said.
 (13)'Aye,' said Shuggie.
 (14)'Whit ye talkin tae that poofin wee cunt fur?' said Eddie.
 (15a)'Wee brainboax,' said Shuggie. (15b)'Ach, e's awright.'
 (16a)'Fucksake but!' said Eddie. (16b)'E'll still be at school when e's whit ... eighteen. (16c)'Ah mean imagine that! (16d)'Some wee shite ae a teacher giein ye the belt fur talkin! (16e)'Come out here Clarence and I'll warm your fingers. You naughty boy!'"
 Shuggie laughed. (17a)'Ach well,' he said. (17b)'E'll come oot wi a good joab an that. (17c)'Nae fuckin overtime fur him.'
 He remembered the advert in the paper.
 (18)'Ah wis thinkin aboot joinin the army,' he said.
 (19)'Wur ye!' said Eddie.
 (20)'Aye,' he said.
 (21)'Might be awright,' said Eddie.
 (22a)'Get me away fae here fur a while anyway,' said Shuggie. (22b)'An ye kin learn a trade anaw. (22c)'See a bit ae the world.'
 (23a)'Mibbe ye'd get sent ower tae Ireland,' said Eddie, laughing. (23b)'Get intae some a they cathlick bastards!'
 (24a)'Ah mind a thinkin that when ah wis wee,' said Shuggie. (24b)'Imagine the proddies and the cathlicks really fightin. (24c)'Jist lik the aulden days. (24d)'King Billy an aw that. (24e)'Ah mind wan time ah wis it the ne'erday match wi wee Aleck an we seen these papes kickin fuck oot a Rangers supporter an ah says tae Aleck wintit be great if thur wis a real war wi thum ower in Ireland an the Orange Ludge went ower tae fight an we hid another battle at the Boyne.'
 (25)'Whit did he say?' said Eddie.
 (26)'He didnae fancy it,' said Shuggie.
 (27)'Ach!' said Eddie.
 (28)'Always wis a crapper when it came doon tae fightin,' said Shuggie.

In this extract, as in the rest of the novel, code-switching takes place between the narrative and the direct speech passages: the narrator's language is Standard English, while the three characters use a distinct Glaswegian variety. There is no mediation between the language of the dialogues and that of the narrative in the shape of explanations or even glosses. The narrator records what anyone could verify in terms of the outer action, and he relates Aleck's inner action. It might be argued that there is no need for linguistic mediation of the direct speech passages, since dialectal lexical items are not very numerous and probably intelligible to any reader. However, without some idea about Irish history and the meaning of the insider-term "ne'erday match", the reader may not fully understand what the characters are talking about¹.

The use of rather dense dialect is entirely appropriate to the speech situation in which three boys of about sixteen with the same cultural background from the same area of Glasgow meet by chance; it is also appropriate for the ensuing conversation between Shuggie and Eddie, who share the same social identity and educational background, and who can also be expected to speak the same language variety among themselves. The speech situation also calls for an informal or colloquial register because the conversation takes place in the most informal circumstances. The social and functional variety represented in the direct speech passages is thus convincing. Indeed, it forms an integral part of the fictional realism of the passage quoted.

There is one case of code-switching within a direct speech passage (16e), but this

¹ Cf. p.348 below.

is a mock imitation by Eddie of a teacher's "posh speech" in which he rebukes a pupil, and not an attempt by Eddie to change his own individual code.

8.5.1 PHONOLOGY

The passage contains representations of both General Scots and more localised West Central and Glaswegian features of pronunciation. The former include two cases of v-deletion in <giein> (16d) and <ne'erday> (24e), and v-vocalisation in <ower> (23a,24e). In the spelling <giein> v-deletion is marked by the omission without substitution of [v].

L-vocalisation is represented in <awright> (15b,21) and <aw> (24d). In both cases, the relevant context for l-vocalisation² is a preceding long vowel, here [ɔ], and a following morpheme boundary. The <aw>-spelling provides direct evidence of the sound change. However, l-vocalisation did not happen in all possible cases in Scots. The lateral has been preserved both in pronunciation and in spelling in <aulden> (24c) despite the fact that the phonological environment for l-vocalisation, a preceding long vowel and a following consonant, is present here. A possible explanation might be that syllable-final consonant-loss happened around the same time as l-vocalisation and affected words like *old*. In this case, Old English [ald] was

² In southern English, l-vocalisation did not take place until the early 15th century; the relevant context here was a preceding long vowel [ɑ:], [ɔ:], [u:] followed by a labio-dental consonant, as e.g. in *half*. The historical <l> has been preserved in the spelling, though.

preserved at first in Early Scots, but through the loss of syllable-final [d] and diphthongisation resulted in Middle Scots [aul] and subsequent to a process of monophthongisation yielded the Modern Central Scots form [ɔl]. The spelling of the stressed vowel in <aulden> suggests the pronunciation [ɔ].

The digraph <oo> in <oot> (17b,24e), <about> (18) and <doon> (28) indicates the fronted, under-rounded West Central pronunciation [ʊ], where Lowland English has the diphthong [ʌʊ]. The Scots and Glaswegian monophthongal pronunciation is a result of the Great Vowel Shift, which affected varieties north of the Humber differently from southern varieties. In the north, the Old English monophthong [u:] was retained.

Another non-standard spelling suggesting a General Scots pronunciation is the digraph <ae> for [e:] in <fae> (7,22a), <tae> (11,14,23a+b,24e,28), <dae> (11) and <nae> (17c,26). The high mid front vowel [e(:)] represented by the digraph <ae> in <dae> and <tae> is the reflex of Older Scots [ø]. The <a>-form indicated in the spelling <nae> suggests the reflex of Old English [ɑ:], which in Early Scots was fronted to non-rounded [a:] and raised in the course of the Great Vowel Shift to [ɛ:] and further to [e:] in Middle Scots, which has been preserved in Modern Scots. The spelling of the vowel in <fae> also indicates the high mid front vowel pronunciation [e:]. The form <fae> is preferred in Glaswegian to the General Scots form *frae*, but both are derived from Old Norse *frā*.

The digraph <ae> in the spellings <ae> (16d,22c) (*of*) and <wae> (*with*) (7) also suggests the high mid front vowel, but in these two cases we are dealing with a typical Glaswegian rather than a General Scots form of pronunciation. In the case of

of, however, Standard English too would have the unstressed realisation [ə] of the vowel. In Glaswegian, *of* is reduced to [e] before the indefinite article; in all other environments, consonant deletion also takes place in connected speech, but the unstressed vowel is realised as [ə] rather than [e]. The spelling <wae> represents another instance of consonant deletion, which also takes place in General Scots.

Another General Scots feature of pronunciation is the retention of the velar fricative allophone [χ], which is suggested by the digraph <ch> in <ach> (6a,15b,17a,27). Although now obsolescent in Glaswegian with a few exceptions such as *loch* or *pibroch*, the voiceless velar fricative [χ] has been retained in exclamations like *ach* and *och*³.

Finally, the Scots consonant cluster reduction of the inflectional suffix of the verbal noun is indicated by the spellings <dancin> (5a), <talkin> (16d), <thinkin> (24a) and <fightin> (28), and of the present participle in <giein> (16d), <joinin> (18), <talkin> (14), <thinkin> (18), <fightin> (24b), <kickin> (24e) and <gawn> (9). Consonant substitution is also suggested in the imprecations <poofin> (14) and <fuckin> (17c), which take the form of the present participle and the position of an adjective. The spelling <-in> of the inflectional endings suggests the pronunciations [ɛ̃n] or [ɪn], and in the case of <gawn> (9) a syllabic consonant [ŋ].

West Central and typically Glaswegian features of pronunciation are represented by the digraph <aw> in <naw> (6a,10) and <gawn> (9), which suggests the pronunciation [ɔ(:)], where Lowland English has the high mid back vowel [o(:)]. The spelling <gawn> not only suggests the low mid back vowel as in <awright> (15b,21)

³ The palatal fricative [ç] is also obsolescent, but still occurs e.g. in *dreich*.

and <aw> (24d) and a consonant cluster reduction of the inflectional ending, but also a syncope in the deletion of the unstressed vowel [ĕ] or [ɪ] of the suffix.

The spelling <i> represents the unstressed vowel [ĕ] or [ɪ] in a variety of words which in Lowland English belong to various lexical sets: in <wis> (6b,7,18,24a+e,28) and <whit> (14,16b), the spelling <i> suggests the Glaswegian pronunciation of the THOUGHT vowel, in <jist> (24c) that of the STRUT vowel, in <mibbe> (23a) that of the FACE vowel, in <wintit> (24e) that of the FOOT vowel, and in <it> (*at*) (24e), <hid> (*had*) (24e) and <kin> (*can*) (3,22b) that of the TRAP vowel.

With regard to the spelling <kin>, it is important to point out that both the vowel and the preceding consonant spellings are different from the standard spelling. The reason for this is presumably that the retention of the standard consonant <c> would yield the spelling *<cin>, which could suggest the pronunciation [sm] to a standard-reading audience, whereas the spelling <kin> indicates the intended pronunciation [kĕn] or [kɪn]. The spelling <wintit> signals that both the modal auxiliary and the negative particle are contracted in connected speech in Glaswegian. The coalescence of the auxiliary with the personal pronoun indicates their assimilation in the spoken mode.

The digraph <oa> in <loat> (5b), <boays> (7), <brainboax> (15a) and <joab> (17b) suggests the pronunciation [o] of the vowel. The raising and rounding of the Lowland English THOUGHT vowel is a Glaswegian shibboleth.

Another typical Glaswegian feature of pronunciation is indicated by the spelling <err> in <therr> (5b). Whereas the Lowland English pronunciation is [e:r], in

Glaswegian as well as Ulster Scots pre-rhotic vowel lowering applies, so that [e:r] merges with [ɛ:r].

The grapheme <a> is used to suggest word-final unstressed [ʌ] in <ma> (*my*) (6b). It is also employed to indicate the pronunciation [a(:)] of the vowel in <wan> (24e); this form of the quantifier *one* seems to have spread from Ulster Irish through to Glaswegian.

The graph <u> is used to suggest the pronunciation [ʌ] in pre-rhotic position in <thur> (*there*) (24e), <furst> (6b), <wur> (*were*) (7,19), <fur> (*for*) (16d,17c,22a) and (arguably⁴) <yur> (7). The grapheme <u> is also used in pre-consonantal position to suggest the pronunciation [ʌ] as in <Ludge> (24e), <huv> (11), <thum> (24e) and in the Glaswegian form of the proper name Hugh, <Shuggie>. In the first three cases, the Glaswegian pronunciation [ʌ] is used where Lowland English has the THOUGHT, TRAP and DRESS vowels respectively.

Another non-standard spelling is <ah> (5a,16c,18,24a+e), which suggests the monophthongal emphatic pronunciation [a(:)] or the reduced realisation [ʌ] of the first person singular pronoun. It has to be pointed out that in contrast to the standard spelling, <ah> is not capitalised unless in sentence-initial position. This can be taken as an indication that an assimilation to the standard spelling is not intended.

The passage also contains some non-standard spellings which are suggestive of the spoken dialect in connected speech. Assimilation, i.e. the influence exercised by one sound on the articulation of an adjacent sound so that the sounds become more similar or indeed identical, is represented in the spellings <izzat> (1), <wintit> (24e),

⁴ Cf. p.347 below.

<fucksake> (16a) and <anaw> (22b). In <izzat> (*is that*), the second of two voiced fricatives, the dental [ð], is assimilated by the preceding voiced fricative [z]. The double consonant spelling <zz> serves to suggest assimilation rather than consonant cluster reduction. In <wintit> (*wouldn't it*) the first of two consecutive alveolar stops, the oral stop [d], is assimilated by the second one, [n]. In <fucksake>, the genitive -s of the first element is always assimilated in connected speech with the following first phoneme in *sake*; this assimilation is indicated by the coalescence, or running together of both words, in writing. The spelling <anaw> (*and all*) represents another case of coalescence; here, the reduced forms of *and* and *all* are contracted in writing as they are in speech. This spelling seems appropriate because the Glaswegian tag <anaw> tends to be perceived as a fixed phrase.

Vowel elision is represented in the spelling <d'ye> (5b), where the apostrophe is a direct indication of the vowel deletion in connected speech. H-dropping, which is in fact common in all varieties of English in unstressed position, is suggested by the spelling <e> (*he*) (15b,16b,17b). The spelling <a> (*of*) (23b) suggests the pronunciation [a]. Consonant cluster reduction is suggested by the spelling <an> (*and*) (11,17b,22b,24d+e).

In <stey> (11) and <anywey> (22a) the digraph <ey> is used instead of the standard <ay>. The non-standard spelling suggests the pronunciation [əɪ] of the diphthong. Thus, the digraph <ey> cannot be regarded as an instance of eye-dialect.

The spelling <cathlick> (23b,24b) represents an instance of eye-dialect, since it yields the same pronunciation as that suggested by the standard spelling <Catholic>. The spelling <yur> (*your*) (7) is ambiguous. It can be interpreted as a case of eye-

dialect, or the grapheme <u> can be taken to suggest the pronunciation [ʌ] by analogy to <thur> (24e) or <wur> (7,19). Alternatively, the spelling <yur> could simply be a misprint, in particular because this is the only time it appears in the novel and because there is no obvious reason to use a non-standard spelling of the pronoun here as opposed to elsewhere.

8.5.2 LEXIS

The passage does not contain a great number of Scots words or expressions, or indeed characteristic Glaswegian lexical items. However, there are a few informal and slang expressions such as "wee brainboax" (15a), "some wee shite ae a teacher" (16d), "get intae some a they cathlick bastards" (23b), "kickin fuck oot a Rangers supporter" (24e) or "crapper" (28), which are much more appropriate to the speech situation and the conversational partners than traditional Scots dialect items would be.

The Scots lexical items used are "aye" (*yes*) (2,4a,8,13,20), "mind" (*remember*) (24a+e) and "wee" (14,15a,16d,24e). The expressions "papes" (*Roman Catholics*) (24e) and "proddies" (*Protestants*) (24b) tend to be used more frequently in the west of Scotland and also in Ulster Scots, presumably because of the importance attached to sectarian matters there, although the terms are not confined to these regions. Also, "papes" is an opprobrious term which tends to be used more by Protestants, whereas "proddies" does not appear to have the same connotations.

The name "King Billy" (24d) tends to be used in particular by the working classes in the west of Scotland and Ulster for William III, whose victory at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 resulted in the Protestant ascendancy in Britain and Ireland. In the context of the passage, the term "King Billy" serves as a synecdoche.

One expression in particular is noteworthy because it has a special meaning in Glasgow, but is not glossed or at least explained in the passage: "the ne'erday match" (24e) refers to the Old Firm football league game between Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers, which was traditionally held on the first of January, i.e. on "ne'erday", but which has for some years now been shifted to the second of January. However, it is still referred to by the term "ne'erday match".

8.5.3 GRAMMAR

8.5.3.1 Morphology

The non-standard morphological forms represented in the passage involve pronouns, demonstratives, verbs, and word formation.

The only Scots pronouns used are the second person pronoun "ye" (3,5a+b,7,9,12, 14,16d,19,22b,23a) and the unstressed possessive pronoun "yer" (1,11).

In the phrase "some a they cathlick bastards" (23b) "they" is the distal plural demonstrative and not, as the form suggests, the third person plural pronoun. The Scots spelling of the demonstrative is <thae>, but the spelling adopted here indicates the same pronunciation [ðe:]. The use of the form "they" has the effect that as a

grammatical feature it looks decidedly non-standard.

With regard to verbal morphology, the forms "ah seen" (5a) and "we seen" (24e) merit brief discussion. Here, the past participle form of the verb is generalised and also used as the preterite form. There is a tendency in modern urban varieties of English to regularise the paradigm of strong verbs by generalising either its past participle form, as it is the case here, or its preterite form.

Finally, three items are noteworthy with regard to word formation: the terms "papes" (24e) and "proddies" (24b) are back-clippings of papists and Protestants respectively, with the latter adding a diminutive suffix as well. The imprecation "poofin" (14) is a new word formed by changing the grammatical category of the noun *poof* through suffixation; "poofin" is used as a present participle by the functional shift from noun to adjective.

8.5.3.2 Syntax

The passage contains a variety of non-standard syntactical forms. A typical Scots usage, the definite article appears with certain periods of time, as in "the night" (9), and with games and sport as in "up the dancin" (5a).

In "up the dancin" (5a), "up" is used without another preposition such as *at*, and the expression "up the dancin" functions as an adverb. In "oot a Rangers supporter" (24e) "oot" is not followed by *of*. In this case, "oot a Rangers supporter" represents the object predicative of the preceding complex verb "kickin".

The subject-verb concord-rule is not observed in "wis that boays ... that wur wae ye" (7), where the subject is plural, the main verb of the relative clause is in the

plural, but the main verb of the interrogative clause is in the singular. However, this kind of usage is common in most non-standard varieties of English. In "ah says" (24e) both the subject pronoun and the verb are in the singular, but here the first person singular pronoun is used with a third person singular inflectional suffix. This kind of reportorial infiltration, which occurs frequently in Glaswegian, tends to generalise the third person singular inflection for all persons singular and plural. As a rhetorical feature in reportorial infiltrations, the generalisation of the third person singular inflection for all persons in the present is common in all varieties of English.

In "Kin ye give us The Sash yet?" (3) it is arguable whether or not the indirect object "us" implies only the speaker, i.e. Shuggie, or both him and Eddie. However, since Shuggie's question is not a request to actually play the tune on the spot, it can be surmised that the direct object "us" refers to the speaker alone. The phrase "give us" is commonly used in Glaswegian to refer to one person only.

In the expression "Mibbe ye'd get sent ower tae Ireland" (23a), "get" is used to express the passive voice.

The non-continuous expression "whit ... fur" is preferred to the interrogative *why* in "Whit ye talkin tae that poofin wee cunt fur?" (14).

Another characteristic Glaswegian syntactical feature is the frequent use of tags such as the terminal *but*, as in "Fucksake but" (16a). *But* can be used both as a conjunction, and as an adverb in sentence-final position in Glaswegian and in Lowland English. Other tags used in the passage are "an that" (17b), "anaw" (22c) and "an aw that" (24d); these tags are used when the preceding predication has implications which are quite obvious and which the speaker does therefore not need

to elaborate on.

Finally, there are some non-standard syntactical forms which are not dialectal, but which partly account for the informal register; they are characteristic of the functional variety employed in the passage. There are two cases of subject ellipsis in "Huv tae stey in ..." (11) and "Always was a crapper ..." (28), two cases of auxiliary ellipsis in "Ye gawn up ..." (9) and "Whit ye talkin tae ..." (14), and three cases of subject and auxiliary ellipsis in "Get me away ..." (22a), "See a bit ..." (22c) and in "Get intae some ..." (23b). The omitted parts of speech can be recovered by the reader from a scrutiny of the context. In a conversation taking place in the informal speech situation depicted in the passage, this kind of ellipsis is perfectly natural.

In Shuggie's question "Wis that boays fae yer school that wur wae ye?" (7) the relative pronoun "that" (not the demonstrative "that" at the start of the sentence) is used instead of *who*. In Scots and Lowland English, *that* is the preferred relative pronoun in both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses.

In "Ah wis thinking ..." (18) the static verb *think* is used in the progressive form. In Lowland English there are no restrictions on the use of a verb denoting mental processes with the progressive aspect, as there are in Standard English. The use of a progressive form in this context signals the tentativeness of the predication.

In Eddie's remark "might be awright" (21) the modal "might" is used to express possibility; Standard English would prefer the modal *may* to express possibility, but the latter rarely occurs in Lowland English.

Two forms are noteworthy with regard to negation. In "didnae" (26) the operator carries the enclitic negative particle "-nae". The Scots enclitic negative particle is an

invention of the 18th century. In Central Scots, the forms *-nay* or *-nae* have replaced the General Scots form *-na*, which used to be common in West Central Scots as well (Macafee 1994:223). In "nae fuckin overtime (17c) "nae" serves as a negative quantifier; here, Lowland and Standard English would use the quantifier *no*.

8.5.4 DISCOURSE FEATURES

8.5.4.1 Discourse Style

On the whole, the discourse style represented in the passage is very typical of that likely between two young work mates in Glasgow meeting for a night out; the constant allusions to sectarian matters are also very common. In terms of discourse style, the liberal use of taboo words and imprecations is noteworthy. The passage contains the imprecations "poofin" (14) and "fuckin" (17c), and the vulgar expressions and taboo words "cunt" (14), "Fuck sake" (16a), "bastards" (23b), "kickin fuck ..." (24e) and "crapper" (28). It should be noted, however, that imprecations tend to be used as mere intensives and are in fact quite meaningless on a semantic level. The word "cunt" is here preceded by the adjective "wee", which has a kind of mitigating effect on the whole expression. In "Fuck sake but" the first element performs the speech act of insisting. Often, taboo words are used simply as strong language, not with the intention actually to swear consciously. They can in fact be expected to be part of the colloquial register used by young working-class Glaswegians and are thus highly appropriate in the passage.

Although the passage contains some ironic remarks, such as Shuggie's question "Huv tae stey in an dae yer homework?" (11), or Eddie's comment "Ach!" (27) which follows Shuggie's revelation that Aleck did not fancy a renewed war in Ireland, these instances are not particularly characteristic of the Glasgow dialect at all. The first is really only a case of mild teasing while the second one is a short comment similar to Eddie's "Wur ye?" (19), which can be read as ironic, but also as conveying the speaker's surprise.

8.5.4.2 Discourse Markers

The passage only contains two or three discourse markers. This is partly due to the fact that turn-taking occurs constantly and that each contribution (apart from (24e)) is very short. Eddie uses the discourse marker "Ah mean" (16c) to interrupt himself and ponder on the picture he has conjured up in his mind of Aleck still being at school at the age of eighteen. This discourse marker is not to be taken literally here: it is not followed by an explanation of what he said prior to interrupting himself, but by an invitation to figure out the implications of the predication in more detail.

The other discourse markers used in the passage are the semantically underdetermined comments "ach" (15b) and "ach well" (17a). In the first case, Shuggie uses this discourse marker to indicate that as far as he is concerned, the topic 'Aleck' is exhausted; the marker is followed accordingly by Shuggie's final comment on Aleck that he is "awright". Eddie, however, is not discouraged so easily and elaborates on Aleck being a schoolboy still. Shuggie for his part is desperate to tell Eddie about his idea of joining the army. His use of the expression "ach well" is

meant to appease Eddie and his slagging, to cut the topic short, and to introduce a new topic. The various uses of "ach" on its own or in conjunction with other lexical items show how fictional use can clarify some of the different functions of a discourse marker.

8.5.5 CONCLUSION

The passage succeeds in most respects and only has some minor shortcomings in terms of the graphological representation of Glaswegian features of pronunciation. Glottal stops and epenthetic vowels are not depicted by non-standard spellings, neither in this particular extract nor indeed anywhere else in the novel. Possibly, the pre-rhotic vowel in <world> (22c) and <homework> (11) would be more appropriately spelled <u> to suggest the Glaswegian pronunciation [ʌr]. Furthermore, there is no obvious reason why there should not be a consonant cluster reduction in <and> (24b); syllable-final consonant-loss in <mind> (24a+e), v-deletion in <give> (3) and v-vocalisation in <overtime> (17c) could have been represented as well. However, it can be argued that the invariable and consistent representation of salient markers is in itself implausible, because code-drifting is an inevitable characteristic of the spoken mode, even if the register remains the same in a speech situation.

Another feature of dialect representation for which the author must be praised is his renunciation of the use of apostrophes to indicate consonant deletion or syllabic

reduction. The absence of apostrophes e.g. in the inflectional suffix <-in> or in <an> (*and*) reinforces the impression that the variety represented is not in any way derived from Standard English and hence not assimilated to the standard orthography. This also applies to the spelling of the first person singular pronoun without capitalisation.

In terms of lexis and grammar as well as discourse features, the passage leaves nothing to be desired: the vocabulary and grammatical forms employed are highly appropriate to the speech situation depicted. More traditional dialect vocabulary would have seemed out of place in this conversation, as would more traditional Scots grammatical forms. Indeed, with regard to lexical items, the inclusion of words like "poofin" and "crapper", which are possibly nonce-formations, gives a good impression of the vitality and inventiveness of Glaswegian (and other modern urban varieties). The use of insider-jargon items like "ne'erday match" without glossing is also convincing.

The speech situation demands the use of dialect and a colloquial register, and the representation of the functional variety depicted is successful as well. The conversational character of the exchange is well indicated by incomplete and elliptic sentences, frequent turn-taking and self-interruptions as well as coalescence to indicate assimilation in connected speech. There is no case of implausible code-switching either.

8.6 SYNOPTIC EVALUATION

The order in which the above passages have been analysed not only follows a chronological order but also largely represents the order of their linguistic merit. It could be argued tentatively that the more recent a passage, the more convincing it is in terms of its speech realism.

No Mean City (1935) represents the first serious effort at a sustained representation of a distinct Glasgow variety in fiction. Its flaws involve the arbitrary distribution of various non-standard and standard forms that cannot simply be explained by code-drifting, as well as inconsistencies in terms of non-standard spellings. Even though the representation of dialect on the page might look as if it is rather detailed and indeed scientific, often it indicates merely that a certain pronunciation is non-standard, rather than accurately representing this pronunciation. Sensationalism is more to the fore than speech realism.

Dance of the Apprentices (1948) is more accurate in indicating specific non-standard pronunciations, and the density of the Glasgow dialect represented remains rather consistent throughout the passage. Also, speech realism is achieved through the skilful representation of conversation with short sentences, elision and discourse markers. However, some inconsistencies both in terms of phonology and grammar remain, and the representation of phonological features could have been more ambitious in this passage.

The Changeling (1958) succeeds very much with regard to the frequency and consistency with which dialect features are represented. However, the phonological

features represented, while characteristic of Glaswegian as well, pertain largely to Central Scots, whereas the non-standard grammatical forms depicted are also typical of Lowland English. In other words, the dialect representation itself is plausible, but the dialect represented is not distinctly Glaswegian. Of course, the setting and the context in which the passage occurs partly account for this.

It would probably be fair to suggest that *Dance of the Apprentices* is more successful in its representation of Glaswegian than *The Changeling*. Certainly if the complete novels were analysed, both the variety of Glaswegian forms and the consistency with which they are represented in *Dance of the Apprentices* is more authentic than in *The Changeling*.

Mr Alfred MA is curiously unambitious in representing phonological non-standard features, but its depiction of non-standard grammar, lexis and discourse features is highly successful. The elliptic sentences, the frequent turn-taking and the representation of coalescence give the passage a level of speech realism which was not so closely achieved in any of the other passages.

Its Colours They Are Fine certainly involves the most ambitious and also the most successful representation of Glaswegian. It strives for an authentic representation of phonological features with only minor shortcomings, and the lexical and grammatical Glaswegian forms depicted are all authentic. Moreover, not only the regional variety, but also the functional variety or register represented is a plausible re-creation of the characteristics of a colloquial, conversation in the Glasgow dialect.

There is one phonetic form which is not represented in any of the passages, even though it is one of the major diagnostic features of Glaswegian: the glottal stop. Of

course, no letter of the alphabet readily and unambiguously suggests this sound, and the use of apostrophes in Glasgow fiction is either avoided or reserved for consonant deletions.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has explored the fundamental issues involved in the written representation of a non-standard language variety. Its focus specifically has been on the written representation of Glasgow dialect in 20th century fiction. Quotations and extracts from Glasgow novels and short stories published between 1902 and 1994 have been used for illustration and as source material for detailed passage analyses.

I have argued throughout the thesis that Glaswegian has to be considered as a coherent and valid linguistic entity with a characteristic combination of phonological, lexical, grammatical and discourse features, and not primarily in relation to a reference variety such as Standard English, and thus in terms of its deviations from such an ostensibly "ideal" variety. Accordingly, a discussion of different definitions of language, and of the differences between dialect and accent has provided the referential framework for classifying the language(s) and language varieties this thesis is concerned with: English and Lowland Scots, Standard English, non-standard English, Scots dialects, and, of course, Glaswegian. The classification, respectively, of these varieties has been undertaken in the thematic context in which they have been discussed. By providing such a referential framework, I have been able to embed the varieties forming the focus of this thesis in a linguistic and extralinguistic context that reaches beyond the narrow confines of Scots and (Standard) English.

I have concluded that there is no definition of language solely based on linguistic factors that can be used to classify a given linguistic entity as a language rather than a dialect. The linguistic difference between language and dialect is one of relation or

degree, not one of substance, and the argumentative force of extra-linguistic claims about the status of language varieties cannot be underestimated. The extra-linguistic argument of national borders can be brought to bear on this issue but, as various examples have shown, national and linguistic borders do not coincide as a rule. The argument that dialects of a language are mutually intelligible, whereas languages are not, has been exposed as misleading because of the existence of dialect continua.

The discussion of accent has incorporated not only a sketch of the evolution and the present status of RP, but also a discussion of the term "Scottish Standard English". I have suggested replacing it with the term Lowland English for two reasons: "Scottish Standard English" implicitly, but wrongly, involves Highland English, and it refers to an accent, whereas Standard English is a variety with no inherent phonology. Moreover, the notion of a standard accent as such is highly debatable. Consequently, I have employed the term Lowland English throughout the thesis.

Having established definitions of language, language varieties and accent as a referential framework, I have given an historical account of the emergence of the variety that would be known as Standard English, and of the motives which led to the promotion of this initially regionally restricted dialect to the standard variety. These motives are of a non-linguistic nature, which implies that the high social status Standard English has enjoyed (and still enjoys) is not a result of its linguistic properties. By implication, non-standard varieties of English are not linguistically inferior, even though their potential might not be fully developed.

Furthermore, Standard English is not to be equated with the English language: it is a variety of English. At the same time, it is distinguished from other varieties of English by two factors. It lacks an inherent phonology, and it is not (now) regionally restricted.

As the discussion of different approaches to and definitions of Standard English by modern linguists has shown, there is an on-going debate whether or not Standard English can be classified as a class dialect. I have argued that, as far as its acquisition correlates with education, it can be associated with social or class considerations, since the length and ultimately the quality of education still relates very much to the social status of the people who can afford it. However, it would be misleading to argue that Standard English is used exclusively by a certain social class. Everybody has access to Standard English, in particular in its printed form, but how much use a person makes of this access, and how much this use in turn comes to be reflected in this person's speech and writing, cannot be entirely divorced from a person's social status.

The discussion of different definitions of Standard English and their validity has provided the linguistic background for an exploration of the cultural and ideological issues related to the perception of Standard English and non-standard varieties in speech and writing in general, and in fiction in particular. Certainly in popular opinion, the standard variety has always been associated with superiority of one kind or another. Moreover, the perception of non-standard varieties (as opposed to the standard one) tends to be a reflection of the perception of its speakers. In fact, the ideological term sub-standard, which implies something not only deviant from, but indeed below the standard, would describe the popular perception better than the more objective term non-standard.

Although the focus of the thesis is on Glaswegian, a dialect of Scots rather than English, the discussion of Standard English has been necessary. Since Scots itself has often been perceived and indeed judged by way of its relation to Standard English, and since in Scottish fiction Standard English is virtually omnipresent, the discussion of the

emergence and the ideology of Standard English has preceded the historical outline of Scots. This order is therefore not a reflection of chronological developments or indeed of a hierarchy of prestige. Instead, by discussing the issue of Standard English first, I have been able to set the historical, linguistic, and ideological context for an objective discussion of the perception of Scots. Moreover, by proceeding from the linguistic concepts of language, dialect and accent to the historical and ideological aspects of Standard English and non-standard varieties, and from there to Scots, the background against which Glaswegian has to be discussed historically and ideologically has already been set. In this way, once the focus has narrowed on Glaswegian, this variety has already been embedded in its proper context. This arrangement has also given me the opportunity simply to sketch the evolution of Glaswegian, and then to proceed to a description of its synchronic characteristics without further recourse to any reference variety.

The sketch of the external history of Scots has outlined how Scots and English, which have a common ancestor in Northumbrian Old English, have developed independently to a qualified degree before converging again to some extent. It has been shown how the varying perceptions of Scots over the centuries are closely related to social, political, economic, and cultural factors. The use of Scots (or Inglis as it was then called) by the economically successful and hence socially powerful traders in the burghs was the main factor for its promotion to the dominant language of Lowland Scotland. Its decline from the 16th century was largely due to the cultural invention of the printing press, and to a lesser degree to the Union of 1603. The Protestant Reformation and the Union of 1707 mainly reinforced tendencies of Anglicisation that were already underway. Deliberate attempts at moving Lowland Scotland linguistically towards the dominant English

language started in the 18th century and were still going on at least in the first half of the 20th century.

The external history of Scots has also highlighted the factors involved in the negative perception of urban varieties of Scots that have informed popular opinion as well as scholarly discussion for close to a century. These factors, too, are predominantly of a non-linguistic nature, focusing as they do on the social and ethnic background of its speakers.

Urban Scots, which for many has become synonymous with Glaswegian, has been set in relation to Lowland Scots, which in turn has been discussed in the context of the dominant tradition of English. This arrangement reflects the fact that Glaswegian has wrongly been considered inferior on two grounds: it is neither a traditional Scots dialect nor "proper" English. However, claims that Glaswegian is "bad English" are mistaken because Glaswegian is not a variety of English, even though English has exerted a considerable influence on it. And although Glaswegian has been influenced by English more than any other variety of Scots, it is, of course, a dialect of Scots, despite claims that as an urban variety it cannot be considered as a genuine Scots dialect. The traditional variety underlying Glaswegian is West Central Scots.

In order to give a comprehensive structural description of the phonology of Glaswegian, I have used a slightly modified model proposed for the description of pan-dialectal phonology. I have described the phonology of Glaswegian through the use of lexical sets which, in different combinations, are applicable to all other dialects and accents of English and Scots. In this way, Glaswegian has implicitly been put in a much wider phonological context without explicit comparison to a reference accent. In fact, the application of lexical sets makes the use of a reference accent redundant altogether.

As with any dialect, the phonological features of Glaswegian form its most prominent and conspicuous characteristics.

In the description of the grammatical forms characteristics of Glaswegian, I have concentrated on discussing those features which Glaswegian does not share with formal Standard English only for reasons of space and redundancy. It has proved to be outside the scope of this thesis to give a complete account of the grammar of Glaswegian, and since, in terms of its written representation in fiction, its non-standard forms are important, I have restricted the discussion to those features. Moreover, I have emphasised the fact that all the non-standard forms discussed are probably shared by one dialect or another, and that it is this particular combination of non-standard grammatical forms which is characteristic of Glaswegian.

I have only given edited highlights of Glaswegian lexical items from the works of fiction consulted. This list is complemented by an appendix containing complete lists of the non-standard lexical items used in the novels and stories discussed. These lists include every lexical item which does not form part of the vocabulary of formal Standard English. Accordingly, they involve not only Scots and Glaswegian terms, but also slang expressions. In combination, they amount to a representative lexical inventory characteristic of Glasgow "patter" as used in 20th century Glasgow fiction.

With regard to Glasgow fiction as a sub-genre of Scottish fiction, I have explored the reasons for its late emergence, and I have discussed the availability of different functions of Glaswegian in fiction. However, since the focus of this thesis is on linguistic matters, a literary appraisal of Glasgow fiction has largely been omitted. I have only suggested that the lack of available models of urban Scottish fiction has contributed to the vigour and vitality that now characterises Glasgow fiction.

Having established a framework for the classification of language varieties, the historical and ideological context of the dominant traditions of Standard English and traditional Scots, and the linguistic characteristics of Glaswegian, I have focused on the issues involved in its representation in writing. The written representation of any non-standard variety is most conspicuous because of the use of non-standard spellings involved in this representation. Accordingly, the discussion of the relation between sound and symbol has followed the description of the linguistic characteristics of Glaswegian.

I have first given an historical account of the development of Standard English spelling because both writers and readers are most familiar with the standard spelling, and are hence liable to relate non-standard spellings to it. The brief historical account has been complemented by a discussion of the ideology of standard and non-standard spelling, which is intimately related to that of a "proper" accent. I have concluded that, because of the association of standard spelling and pronunciation with linguistic propriety, a set of binary oppositions involving standard and non-standard spelling and the varieties these spellings represent, has evolved from the mid 1800s. Dialect came to be associated with provinciality, vulgarity, and uneducatedness, and this perception was projected onto non-standard spellings. As a result, authors often tended merely to signal the non-standardness of a certain pronunciation by a non-standard spelling rather than trying to render that pronunciation as accurately as possible.

A historical sketch of the Scots spelling tradition has followed the account of English spelling. As a variety of Scots, Glaswegian shares many of its phonological features. Accordingly, it has been important to discuss the history of Scots spelling and its conventions as well as efforts at standardising Scots spelling in order to establish a

possible reference for non-standard spellings used to represent Glaswegian. The efforts to standardise Scots spelling have been analysed in some detail because they offer an insight into the various structural spelling rules applied to the proposed systems of Scots spelling. I have argued that none of these efforts is entirely convincing, not least because each proceeds from a perception of English spelling as being chaotic and unreliable, and *hence* unsuitable for Scots spelling. In order to be able to refute this misconception, I have discussed the structural characteristics of English spelling prior to the account of Scots spelling. Its main characteristic is its morpho-phonemic structure, which does not lend itself to a phoneme-based revision of spelling, but which has distinct advantages with regard to the perception of words and phrases as mental images.

Before illustrating the written representation of Glaswegian phonology by analysing two passages from Glasgow fiction in terms of their non-standard spellings, I explored the possibilities available to devise non-standard spellings. I have concluded that all of them only function on the basis of already established spelling conventions, and that in this sense the impact of standard spelling cannot be overemphasised. This has become particularly obvious in the analysis of the passage from 'Moonlighting', whereas a stronger influence of traditional Scots spelling conventions is detectable in the extract from *Wee MacGregor*.

Although non-standard spellings presumably form the most conspicuous indicator of written dialect, they are, of course, not the only means of representing dialect in writing. A discussion of the properties of and the differences between spoken and written language and of the possibilities of representing the spoken medium in the written has therefore followed the discussion of spelling. I have described the structural

characteristics of the spoken mode of conversation and those of the written mode of literary dialogue in order to explore how much the reader can expect of the representation of conversation in literary dialogue. I have concluded that, although certain characteristics of the spoken mode such as paralinguistic and prosodic features can only be represented indirectly in writing, e.g. by punctuation and verbal comments, this is no disadvantage. After all, literary dialogue is not the rendition of an anterior oral conversation, and its aims and objectives are not congruent with those of spoken conversation.

Functional variation, or register, has been discussed in the context of written and spoken language rather than in connection with regional and social varieties because in the context of the present thesis, functional variation is focused on the correlation between spoken conversation and literary dialogue in informal speech situations, i.e. on the discourse dimension of language in use. However, register has been related to standard and non-standard varieties in the sense that the standard variety tends to be correlated with a formal register, whereas non-standard varieties tend to be associated with informal or colloquial registers.

Since dialect and standard speech in literary dialogue are essentially subject to the same conditions in terms of their representation in the written medium, both standard and non-standard extracts and quotations from Glasgow fiction have been used for illustration, even though the focus here has not been on dialect representation. Indeed, dialect is primarily associated with casual conversation, and in this sense it is a variety typically rendered in fictional dialogue.

The section on the discourse dimension of spoken and written language in use has prepared the ground for the ensuing discussion of how Glasgow dialect (rather than

colloquial spoken language in general) is represented in fiction. In particular, I have explored the use of what I have chosen to call discourse features, i.e. expressions typically used in Glaswegian, for instance to perform certain speech acts, to address people, and to express the characteristic Glaswegian humour. I have then suggested adding discourse features to the modules of dialect, i.e. to phonology, lexis, and grammar.

In spoken dialect, these modules tend to be perceived in precisely that order – phonology, lexis, grammar, discourse features – because of the prominence respectively of these modules. Since none of the later modules tend to be registered unless the presence of the former has been registered, I have concluded that the hierarchy apparent in the perception of dialect modules may in fact be an implicational hierarchy.

The question of whether or not precisely this hierarchical perception of dialect modules is reflected in the written representation of dialect in fiction has been answered in the negative. Literary and aesthetic considerations, which can be subsumed under the cover term communicative framework, as well as readership concerns, can override the hierarchical representation of dialect modules in the order of non-standard spelling, dialect lexis, non-standard grammar and dialectal discourse features. Moreover, even when this hierarchy is reflected in fictional dialect representations, it cannot be characterised as strictly implicational. While it is true that non-standard grammar is not represented unless non-standard spellings and dialect lexis occur as well, there is no evidence of non-standard spellings occurring without representations of non-standard lexis and grammar. In other words, in all works of Glaswegian fiction in the narrow sense, all four dialect modules are represented.

I have argued that the representation of dialect modules in fictional writing can be described as a hierarchy of foregrounding. Ultimately, the communicative framework of the respective novel or short story is the decisive factor for the foregrounding of a particular dialect module. In the majority of cases, the hierarchy of foregrounding corresponds to the implicational hierarchy of dialect perception. It could be surmised that this is simply a reflection of the variety of non-standard spellings the author can choose to employ as opposed to the smaller variety of dialect words and idioms, and again the even smaller variety of non-standard grammatical forms and indeed discourse features. If this is true, we have to surmise that the foregrounding of lexis or non-standard grammar for literary and aesthetic reasons is the exception to the rule that dialect modules tend to be represented in the written medium in the same order as they tend to be perceived in the spoken medium.

Before analysing representative passages from Glasgow fiction, a model of speech realism has been presented. In order to situate the fictional texts on which I have drawn in this thesis, I have modified a map of speech realism suggested by Kirk (1997:200). According to the modified model, all the texts in question can be placed in the same field in which dialectal and discursive features rather than standard and literary features are foregrounded.

The detailed analyses of five extracts from novels published between 1935 and 1977 have shown that, while each has some flaws, certainly the two latest ones, *Mr Alfred MA* (1972) and *Its Colours They Are Fine* (1977) are much more successful in their representation of Glaswegian than the earlier ones. Saying that, the passage from *Dance of the Apprentices* (1948) is not only a considerable improvement on the first extract, from *No Mean City* (1935), but it is in fact more successful in terms of the

representation of characteristically Glaswegian rather than General Scots features, and indeed with regard to the non-standard spellings employed than the passage from the later novel *The Changeling* (1958). I have concluded that, while the chronological order of novels chosen for the analyses generally also reflects the order of their merit in terms of dialect representation, it cannot simply be maintained that this representation improved with time. A close analysis of more material, which has been outside the scope of this thesis, would underline this conclusion.

With regard to further research, the complex topic of narrative frameworks in Glasgow fiction would merit detailed discussion. An exploration of the different types of narrators, their relation to the characters, and the different modes of speech employed in Glasgow fiction would be more literary in its orientation than the present study. It would thus be rewarding to analyse these issues in relation to other sub-genres of Scottish fiction rather than against the linguistic, historical and discursive background established in the present thesis.

Scots in any of its varieties (apart from Lallans) has been associated with the vernacular and hence with the voice of the common people. This association has resulted in a creative dilemma: the dichotomy between the voice of the narrative, which is largely Standard English, and that of the dialogues, which tends to be Scots. While the language choice of the characters is mainly determined by their text-specific personae, that is, by their social status and geographical background, the language of the narrator depends very much on his attitude to his subject matter. The linguistic and semiotic characteristics of the narrative voice and the characters' voices have to be shown, and the multiplicity of voices in terms of the (implied) author's ideology has to be interpreted (Fowler 1989:79). One way of accomplishing this twofold task is by

reference to the theory of social heteroglossia and dialogic discourse developed by the Russian formalist Mikhail Bakhtin.

A range of regional and social varieties as well as changing registers have been available in Scottish fiction. In particular the implications of the gap between the monologic, authoritative voice of the Standard English narrative and the vernacular voices of the characters are suited to a Bakhtinian analysis. This gap is redolent with assumptions (implied or not) about the Standard English narrative "controlling, interpreting and judging the other discourses" (Lodge 1990b:47). A Bakhtinian analysis "touches on how the authority of any discourse is destabilised in the face of multiple and competing languages and registers" (Watson 1995:143).

The majority of works both from Glasgow fiction and from Scottish fiction in general (as far as they contain representations of non-standard speech) have been in the tradition of classic realism with the dialogues in dialect and the narrative in Standard English. This metalanguage of the narrative puts the reader along with the narrator (and the implied author) in a position of dominance over the characters.

It is precisely this constellation and the implied authority of a Standard English narrative that writers like James Kelman have attacked. "Now that of course is a wee game going on between writer and reader and the wee game is 'Reader and writer are the same' and they speak in the same voice as the narrative, and they're unlike these fucking natives who do the dialogue in phonetics. ... The assumption is that the character doesn't know as much as the writer and the reader" (MacLean 1985:77). Kelman himself, and others like Lewis Grassie Gibbon (James Leslie Mitchell), have overcome this dichotomy by using the same voice for both narrative and dialogues, that is, by adapting the cadences of the regional vernacular to the narrative, and by making

use of the technique of free indirect discourse, which allows modulation between different voices and hence different perspectives. An analysis of different modes of speech would thus form an important contribution to the discussion of Glasgow fiction.

The present thesis, however, has focused on the linguistic, discursive, historical and cultural issues implied in the representation of Glasgow dialect in fiction. "For while it has often been stigmatised as clumsy and fragmented, as ugly, crude and corrupt, the demotic speech of the great industrial cities has also been celebrated as expressing the unquenchable vitality and creativity of ordinary people. Humour, quick-wittedness, extravagance, inventiveness, candour, intense topicality often characterise the speech of cities" (Milton 1997:191). In this context, Glaswegian takes its place alongside any other urban non-standard varieties of Scots and, for that matter, English. It is striking how Milton's appropriate characterisation ties in with what Bakhtin (1984:474) has to say about the 16th century French poet François Rabelais and his world, and how Bakhtin's statement can also be applied to 20th century Glaswegians and Glasgow fiction: "We cannot understand cultural and literary life and the struggle of mankind's historic past if we ignore that peculiar folk humour that always existed and was never merged with the official culture of the ruling classes."

I believe the present thesis will have made a contribution to the recognition of the value of representing demotic speech, and one of its most controversial urban varieties, in literature.

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Appendix

This appendix contains complete lists of the non-formal, non-Standard English words and expressions represented in the works of fiction consulted. The lists are arranged alphabetically with the spellings employed in the novels and short stories. These in turn are arranged in chronological order.

Wee MacGreegor (1902):

abin; ablow; ahint; ain; as fou's a whelk; aye; bawbee; bawr; ben; bidin'; blethered; bonny; braw; breeks; bummin'; bunnet; canny; carvies; close (*tenement entrance*); coupit; dab; daftie; daft-like; dauds; dauner; dochter; doo; dookin'; doot; dram; dux; e'e; fash; feart fur; foresman; fower; frae; frichtit; frichtsomes; furbye; gab; gaird; gang; gaun yer messages; gey; gey sair dunt; gar; gie's yer crack; girny; glaur; Glesca; goonie; greetin' (*crying*); grup; guide sister; guid wife; gundy; heuch; Hogmanay; hurl; jaupit; jaw-box; joog; a keek; ken; kirk; laddie; lass; lauch; learn him (*teach him*); let on to; loupin'; maun; nicht; mind (*remember*); the morn; muckle; neb; nesty; ootbye; ower lang; pechin'; peely-wally; peery-heidit; piece (*sandwich*); preens; press (*cupboard*); queer; rid toorie; sair pit oot; sark; sawbath-schule; sclim; shoogly; sic; sicht; siller; skelpin'; sook; sookers; sort ye; speirin'; stairheid; stracht; stravaygin'; stroop; sud; sugar-ally; sweirt; taiblet; tate; taury-biler; tawpy; tewkies; thole; thrang; toosie; twa preens; twain; twal'; twistit-like; unco; wannert; weans; wee; whaur; a wheen; a while syne; whiles; whumlin'; yinst.

The Shipbuilders (1935):

afore; at all, at all; aye; bairn; be a sissy; blether; bob; bonny; breeks; champion (*wonderful*); chaser; clout; crack; cry (*call*); daft; dole days; doubt (*expect*); dowsy; feart; for crivven's sake; gaffer; gees; gey; greet; half-mutchkin; hauf and hauf-pint; a hiding (*a thrashing*); hippen; keelie; ken; learn; make a cod of me; nyaf; on the dole or the parish; perjink; piece; snifter; shut your face; sort him; tanner; wean; wenchin'; wheesht; the whole shooting-match.

No Mean City (1935):

atween; ay; bairns; bandy-legged; bawl; ben; bit of stuff (*girlfriend*); bonny; bread-snappers; the busies; chanty; china (rhyming slang for china plate, i.e. *mate*); chivvy; clabber jigging; click (*date*); crack; crappy; cripes; dae her in; daft; dead drunk; on the dole; dough (*money*); eerily; factor; feart; fling; got the crap on; greet; half canned; hard lines (*tough luck*); have a deck; idle set; I'm holding (*paying a round*); in the right of it; jemmy; lad; larrickens; lass; lassie; mind; the morn; the morn's mornin'; nark it; nit the jorrie; no bliddy fears; the noo; on Monday next; the pair o' them; paraffin; plummy; prams; press; a pure treat; put on any airs; rory; sherricking; snuffed it; stair-heid; stay; taking a hiding; tannin'; the toil; up the toon; wean; wee; wheesht; a while since; whit for; widoes; winching.

Dance of the Apprentices (1948):

afore; atween; awfu' good-livin'; aye; bairns; beezer; ben the hoose; bide a wee; big saftie; big swell; birlled; blether; bob; bonnet; bonny; braces; braw; bray; breeks; brogue; but-an'-ben; calloused; chap (*knock*); chukkies; cleek; close mouth; crack; daft;

daftie; deoch-an-doris; doatle; done a bunk; doot; dram; drop o' rest; een; factor; fae; first-foot; food-press; forbye; frichtit; gaffer; gang; gaun messages; gey; girmed; grate; greetin'; half-mutchkin; hard lines; haud a minodge; haud yer wheesht; haverin'; hoose-prood; houghs; house (*flat*); in the family way (*pregnant*); jawbox; jorries; ken; knocked him daft; lad; loapin'; loch; lum; ma heid's splittin'; midden; no' a bad aul' stick; oan the ran-dan; on the dole; parritch; peeries; peeever; poker; range (*fireplace*); right doon the pan; scunner; semmit; shandygaff; skedaddled; skirled; sleekit; smairten masel' up; smithereens; sonsy; stairhead; stane wa'; stank; steady yersel'; tap o' the basket; the pair of them; till she draps deed; twa; uncanny; vamoose; wag-at-the-wa' clock; wait a wee; wean; wee hauf; a wee nip; ye've won hame.

The Changeling (1958):

ahint; aye; blether; bonnet; bonny; braw; cairn; crafty as auld Nick's wife; cushie-doo; daft; does (*pigeons*); dominie; doon the watter; drap deid; feart; frae; gallusly; gang; gey; greeting; guff; heidie; keek; ken; lad; lassie; lugs; midden; mind; a pair of beauties; rowanberries; shower of auld wives; sicht a' wally; skelped; sleekit; thrawn; wally; weans; wee; this winter past; tinker; years back.

The Dear Green Place (1966):

auld sweetie wife; aye; bairns; bammy kane; ben the room; blethered away; bob; bonny; bow-legged kilties; braes; cahootchie balls; canny; chancin' my arm; chiels that winna dig; cleeks; close mouth; cloth bonnet; couldn't punch his way oot o' a wet poke; couped on; coups; cuddies; daft; darg; dauner; dour; dreich; drystane dyke; feart; feartie; gang their ain gait; get weaving; go a message; gey; gret; haud your wheesht;

hauf a dollar; heid case; howking; hudgies; keelie; ken; kirk elder; lad; laddie, lassie; lavvy; the lend of a mangle; lose your rag; loup; lums; mind yersel; not half; nyaff; over long; piece; range; reek; scribevin; scullery; see's o'er the pepper; semmit and drawers; shut your auld gitter; sicken the chops off ye; sleekit; spondulicks; stuffing your face; takin' tent o' one another; tanner; tenement; wag-at-the-wa's; wally dugs; wee; weel got; weirdie; wheens; you havenae got a' your onions.

'Supper on the Wall' (1971):

aa body; afore; ahint; corned beef (rhyming slang for deif, i.e. *deaf*) cratur; drappie; forfochen; gie me a lend o' it; a good workin' ower; heavies; intil; just the doddles; ken; mannie; mind o' it; quid; snifter; syn; wee.

Mr Alfred MA (1972):

aye; back-scullery; bailiwick; a bee rat or an effin rat; blethers; bob; daft; dinner (*lunch*); do ye; doing a line (*going out with*); dominie; feart for; fix him; flit; give me the creeps; houghmagandy; howff; huffed; jouk; lad; lasses; learn them; lucies; messan; midden; mind; mucked it up; nut-house; on the fiddle; parking a poke; patter; shower of Sassenachs; scunner; skelf; skited; sort (*fix*); spuds; squiffed; tawse; thole; weans; wee; whaur.

Its Colours They Are Fine (1977):

aff yer heid; afore; ah nearly shat a brick therr; bale oot; blue-nose (*Protestant*); burd (*girlfriend*); buroo; carry-oot; chib; chippy; close mouth; crapper; cryin; daft; don't mess; doo; dout; fae; feart fae; first foot; furrat; gallus; gaun their dinger; get yer daft

heid stoved in; gie it laldy; haufs; heedie; heidbanger; hell mend ye; his heid's away; honk (*vomit*); how (*why*); hurl; janny; knocked (*stole*); jink; lassie; lavvy; leerie; lik flies roon a toly; mah hoose (*my flat*); makin a rammy; midden; mind; on his bucket; parkies; plook; polis (*a policeman*); pure fuckin ignorant; put ye oot on yer ear; schemes; scunner; see ye efter; shirrikin; shitin is sel; shooglin aboot; shower a mental bastards; shower a' pochlin bastards; single end; snifter; stairhead; steamie; steamin; tanner; that's you; that wid be fuckin gemmie; the perry us; tinkers; a tongue lik a spam fritter; tummel; weans; wee; a wee wifie; yer face is trippin' ye.

Laidlaw (1977):

aff yer heid; afore; aye; bonnet; braw; chick; credit (*believe*); daft; doubt; dowt; fae; feart; flung oot; fou; fower; gaffer; greetin'; heid bummer; how; keekin'; lassie; lowse; midden; mind; piece-tin; press; she's gemme; shoo; wean; wean daft; wee.

'Moonlighting' (1982):

afore; atween; aye; dauner; fae; foo; gey; goat aff thir mark; hiv nim oan; mine (remember); moonlight flit; a right good buckit; shirrikin; tay ka walk tae itself; thi baith ae thim; wean; wee.

How Late It was How Late (1994):

action stations chop chop; afore; as per fucking usual; aye; bammy cain; bampot; the Barras; bastarn; beaks; ben the kitchen; bingers; bit of stuff (*girlfriend*); blawhard; a blether; blindie, blootered; blue-noses; bob; bogging; boozebag alky bastard; boozier; brolly; busies; chap; chokablok; civvy clobber; clatty; conking out; crabbit; crack; crack

a light; crafty auls bugger; daft; dead-pan; deafie, dod of shite; dough; drive ye crackers; drookit; drouth; dumbie, easy the peasie; the feet were killing him; flinging; for donkeys'; gaff; the game's a bogie; ganger; get aff yer mark; get huckled; get rolled; ginger (*softdrink*); giro; going like the auld clappers; goin to knots; grass; greeting; hoaching; hoofing (*walking*) it; it done yer head; it looks the part; it was murder polis; kip in; knackit; lassie; the len of a saw; limboland; lobby press; loonie; make a bolls of things; mawkit; mental; messages (*shopping*); mind; minging; my head was away; napper; nay gripe at all; nab; nearly shat herself; nicker; offski; on the bevy; on the blag; on the razzle; panic-stations; pap him oot; patter; plain sailing; plank; poky; a ponce; ponging; poxy; reccy; sally army; Sammy's bottle went; a screw; screw the nut; screwalls; shoot the crow; skelly; skited; slip him a mickey; smash; spinning a fancy; spook; stay (*live*); steamboats (*drunk*); steaming (*drunk*); supped a bit o' porridge; tan; their head's fucking wasted; the two of yez; they wereny fucking half; tims; turf him off the premises; weans; a wee footery job; a wee half; yapping away; winey.